Daily Report

East Europe

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NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Cooperation Protocol Signed With Turkey

AU0902124990 Tirana ATA in English 0957 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Tirana, February 9 (ATA)—The protocol of the second session of the Albanian-Turkish Joint Commission on Economic, Trade, Industrial, and Technical Cooperation between the Government of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania and the Government of the Republic of Turkey, was signed in Ankara.

The protocol was signed for the Albanian side by Vito Kapo, minister of light industry, and for the Turkish side by the minister of state, Ismet Ozaslan. Attending the signing ceremony was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania to the Republic of Turkey, Nesip Kaci.

The protocol on economic, trade, industrial, and technical cooperation foresees cooperation in the field of mining industry, timber processing industry, in the field of the technology of production of steels, textile industry, trade exchanges, etc.

Malile on Regional, Domestic Issues

LD0902220690 Helsinki International Service in Finnish 1600 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Report from Paris by correspondent Hannu Reime on an interview with Foreign Minister Reis Malile by Finnish radio journalists in Tirana; date not given]

[Text] [Announcer] The only country that stayed out of the CSCE, Albania, is following the plan for the CSCE summit meeting with interest. In an interview with the Finnish Broadcasting Company, Albanian Foreign Minister Reis Malile regards the situation as so confused that there can be no talk of Albania joining it yet. Our correspondent Hannu Reime, who has just returned from Albania, reports from Paris:

[Reime] Albanian Foreign Minister Reis Malile is an educated man who at first does not at all seem like the leader of the foreign policy of the last Stalinist country in Europe. Malile, speaking perfect French, responded to questions from the Finnish Radio journalists in his office in Tirana, and irritating subjects do not shock him. Closed Albania, hermit Albania, Albania that cuts itself off from the world—this is now the object of the worlds interest. The Tirana government represents the last Marxist-Leninist one-party system now that the other state structures, softer or more corrupted than Albania, have fallen one by one in East Europe. Malile forcefully emphasizes that Albania is no more a part of East Europe than it is a part of any other bloc, but Albania wants to maintain friendship with all countries except two: the United States and the Soviet Union, with which it does not even have diplomatic relations. To the question as to whether the East European upheavals are positive or negative in the Albanian view, Foreign Minister Reis Malile replied:

[Begin Malile recording in French, fading into Finnish translation] It is still too early to say whether the changes are good or bad, because matters have not been clarified enough yet. Anyway, the only thing we hope is that these countries will progress, that democracy and wealth will strengthen and grow in these countries, and, most importantly, that these countries develop in full freedom and sovereignty. [end recording]

[Reime] Democracy and wealth—two features that are not all that apparent in Albania neither now nor before the People's Republic—but no doubt the foreign minister's hope is sincere. Sovereignty, independence, at least sovereignty and independence in the eyes of the group in power relative to other states—these, on the other hand, are things that surely Albania officially has reason to boast of. Albania condemned the invasion of Czechoslovakia as soon as it happened, and then formally resigned from the Warsaw Pact. Several years earlier, Albania had thrown the Soviets out of the country and is still boasting that the country never allows foreign troops on its territory. In this respect, the events of East Europe and the gradual Soviet withdrawal from its allies confirm Albania's independent line. But what about the other side of the coin? The change from one-party dictatorship to democracy, or at least efforts toward it, everywhere in East Europe? Does it not worry Albania, where all important decisions are made by the ruling Workers' Party Politburo, in which the bewhiskered Georgian is still given full honor? Foreign Minister Malile, and all the other Albanians I met on my visit, emphasize the uniqueness of their country: There have never been parties other than the Communist Party, which led the anti-fascist liberation struggle. Foreign Minister Malile explains the need for this national unity dictated by history in his answer to our question about Albania's political prisoners. According to Amnesty International, there are many of them, and they are treated harshly. The foreign minister admits that there are political prisoners in the country, and does not say how many. To the question about reports that there was a bloody suppression of an uprising at the turn of the year, the foreign minister replies:

[Begin Malile recording in French, fading into Finnish translation] Nothing has happened in Albania! Everything is peaceful! It is just a Yugoslav propaganda campaign, whose aim is to direct attention away from events in Kosovo and the way Serbia treats the Albanian population there. [end recording]

[Reime] A short visit to Albania and possible independent sources do not confirm the Yugoslav claims, put forward by the daily POLITIKA and the TANJUG news agency. Official Albania goes to great lengths to quash them. This would explain why foreign reporters have been admitted to the country at this time of year for a short time. What the Albanians, the Albanian people, really think about their country's political system is of course another matter. And that cannot be gauged during a short visit. Perhaps that will be clear only when the Albanian political system becomes even a little more

open than now, and gives up what the Constitution of the country calls the dictatorship of the proletariat [word indistinct], which in actual fact is the dictatorship of the Politburo. In light of Albania's tyrannical history, the impetus for change could probably only come from within the party.

Carcani: 'Best Wishes' to Bulgaria's Lukanov

AU1002204790 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Text] Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following telegram to Andrei Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria:

On the occasion of your appointment as chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, I convey my best wishes for success in your important task.

I am taking this opportunity to wish for the constant development of relations and friendly cooperation between Albania and Bulgaria, to the benefit of our two peoples and of peace in the region.

Alia Sends Greetings Message to Iran's Rafsanjani

AU1002204590 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania People's Assembly Presidium, has sent the following message of congratulations to 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran:

On the occasion of Iran's National Day, it is my pleasure, in the name of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and personally, to convey sincere greetings and best wishes for the happiness of the Iranian people and the country's prosperity.

I am convinced that the friendly relations between Albania and Iran will develop constantly in the interest of both our peoples.

Malile, SRV Foreign Minister Exchange Greetings

AU1102134790 Tirana ATA in English 0940 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] Tirana, February 11 (ATA)—On occasion of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the diplomatic relations between the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania and the SR of Vietnam, the ministers of foreign affairs Reis Malile and Nguyen Co Thach exchanged messages of greetings. In these messages they express the pleasure over the continuous development of the friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries and the desire for their consolidation and expansion in the future in various fields of mutual interest.

Leaders' Public Appearance for 3-9 Feb

AU1002175590

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 3-9 February reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders:

Foto Cami, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, attended a Union of Working Youth of Albania Central Committee meeting in Tirana on 9 February. (1900 GMT 9 Feb)

Lukanov, Dimitrov on Talks With Baker

AU1202113190 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[Report by Sibila Dimova, Maksim Bozhilov, and Stanislav Kolev: "Beginning Free of Prejudice"]

[Text] Sofia, 10 February— U.S. Secretary of State James Baker arrived in Bulgaria today on an official visit. After his visits to Prague and Moscow, he has come to Sofia, the first visit by a U.S. diplomatic leader to Bulgaria in the history of our international relations.

The character and contents of the talks that lasted for several hours permit us (so far as the Bulgarian journalists were informed) to claim that the profound democratic processes that changed our country within days are the real reason behind this visit.

Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, was surrounded by TV cameras and tape recorders of the Bulgarian and U.S. journalists who were in front of the hall where the talks took place. He was asked numerous questions about the intentions of the new Bulgarian Government. He calmly answered in English and provided a lot of details. When he parted from us, a U.S. journalist exclaimed: "What a charming person!" Here are some of Andrey Lukanov's answers:

About the prerogatives of the present government: While it is a one-party government, its tasks are nationwide and it must strive to reflect national sentiments. The government will maintain an open dialogue with all political forces. We are prepared to utilize all channels—the "roundtable" and other contacts with the opposition, and with the third political force—the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, which has refused to join the government. We would like all important decisions to enjoy as much public support as possible.

About transferring the Bulgarian economy to the free market principle: The position of the present government is categorically in favor of such a change. As far as the temporary transition period is concerned, it will not be very long as far as the adoption of the market principle is concerned. However, the creation of a private sector will take longer because in our country there are no concentrations of capital in private hands. We hope that we will be able to shorten the transition period with the help of foreign investments.

About the role that the United States could play in transforming the Bulgarian economy: This can be an exceptionally important role. Bulgarian-U.S. economic relations are minimal. We hope that the U.S. side will "open the door" for business. We would gratefully accept financial assistance in training managers.

After the conclusion of the official Bulgarian-U.S. talks at the Boyana Residence, Foreign Affairs Minister Boyko Dimitrov answered numerous questions of journalists.

The first question was asked by a RABOTNICHESKO DELO reporter: "What did you succeed in covering during the brief period of the talks?"

—Despite the brief period of time, we touched upon all issues of bilateral relations. Detailed information about the nature of the processes in Bulgaria was presented. Mr. Baker demonstrated an interest in the events in our country and expressed support for the democratic changes. The very visit of the U.S. secretary of state at this moment confirms that the U.S. Administration greets the democratic changes in East Europe, including Bulgaria.

Despite Mr. Baker's strenuous schedule, we succeeded in discussing all issues that interest the Bulgarian public. We agreed that consultations between Bulgaria and the United States should start with a view to giving us the status of a most preferred nation in trade relations with the United States. The United States will review its position vis-a-vis our country's candidacy for membership in GATT and Bulgaria's steps to gain admission to the IMF and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

I would like to note that Mr. Baker is very well informed about the essence of the processes that are taking place in our country. It is my impression that in addition to interest and support, the U.S. secretary of state also has confidence in the sincerity of the intentions of the Bulgarian Government and the new leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] to fully complete those processes; namely, to hold free elections with the equal participation of all parties and ensure free access to the media. Mr Baker expressed total support for the National Assembly declaration on the ethnic issue, which was adopted on the initiative of the BCP.

As far as the discussion of issues of a broad international nature is concerned, the Bulgarian side highly assessed the programmatic speech Mr. Baker recently read in Prague. That speech outlined the basic trends and principles of the U.S. policy toward the changes in East Europe. It was pointed out that the processes of renewal in our country are totally in line with the program contained in Mr. Baker's speech.

According to Minister Boyko Dimitrov, a new beginning, free of any ideological prejudices, has been established in Bulgarian-U.S. relations.

Supreme Council Member Tomov on CPSU Plenum

AU1202175090 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Feb 90 p 5

[Article by Aleksandur Tomov, associate professor at the Sofia Kliment Okhridski University and member of the Supreme Bulgarian Communist Party Council: "Accelerating Impetus For Restructuring"]

[Text] Despite the fact that our public opinion was almost entirely focused on problems of domestic policy over the last months, the Bulgarian people are still deeply concerned with the processes that are currently under way in the USSR. I think that the recently held CPSU Central Committee Plenum represents an important stage in this development and an expression of the complicated and diversified trends of renewal in Soviet society.

What is most striking about the plenum decisions, and about M.S. Gorbachev's report in particular?

We are particularly impressed by the fact that the pre-congress platform of the Soviet Communists was based on the ideal of democratic socialism, something that reveals an ideological affinity between the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the CPSU. I cannot fail to point out in this connection that the ideas on admitting a multiparty system, on renouncing preconceived patterns of building socialism, and the idea that the Communist Party can play the role of a vanguard force only as a democratically recognized force are very promising.

Generally speaking, I am convinced that M.S. Gorbachev's report represents an important step forward toward the development of political pluralism in the USSR, especially considering the complicated economic and social problems that now face Soviet society.

In the second place, I would like to point out the fact that the CPSU decided to hold its 28th Congress at an earlier date than originally planned. I am convinced that, in view of the extraordinarily accelerated pace of developments in East Europe and all over the world, this is a topical and useful action likely to further speed Soviet "perestroyka" both from the point of view of its essential nature and under the aspect of cadres.

Last, but not least, I would like to express a more general impression. Both the plenum documents and the speakers' statements revealed the fact that, regardless of different tactics and a different pace of the current changes, regardless of the specific nature of existing contradictions, the radical restructuring of socialism on the basis of democracy, pluralism, of the people's self-government, and on the basis of social justice, has no alternative. Regardless of the different shades, and despite the difference in the length of these processes, we are inevitably approaching a democratic and homogeneous world, a world of unity between democracy and the socialist ideal.

Vasilev on CPSU Plenum

AU1202190990 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Feb 90 p 5

[Article by Academician Kiril Vasilev: "The Plenum—A Topical Event"]

[Text] The recent plenum of the CPSU Central Committee attracted worldwide attention from the East to the West. News agencies throughout the world reported and commented with great interest on the speakers' statements at this unusual party forum and on its historical decisions. Everyone realized that the events taking place in Moscow today are the most powerful expression of a worldwide process that is gathering tremendous social momentum. The future of our entire planet greatly depends on the development of the process called "perestroyka."

The plenum adopted two decisions of great importance. First, the CPSU expressed its readiness to do away with the postulate inherited from the Stalinist regime on its "leading role" in society by categorically eliminating Article 6 of the USSR Constitution. Second, the CPSU accepted the real existence of other democratic parties in the country that are defending the interests of different strata of the population.

On the basis of these decisions, the CPSU will completely eradicate the constitutional prerequisites guaranteeing its monopoly over power. What is even more important is the fact that the party intends to further implement political pluralism as an irrevocable principle of democracy. These historical decisions were actually extricated after a persevering struggle against the most vicious conservatives who participated in the plenum.

The social development of this struggle in the Soviet Union has promoted fascinating political leaders of heroic dimensions. In the first place we should mention the Gorbachev phenomenon, the author of "perestroyka," the man who assumed the task of smoothing the extreme edges of pluralism, who assumed the leadership, and the task of maintaining the balance of forces. Alongside him we see the reckless Boris Yeltsin, the representative of the uncompromising left wing, who has already become a symbol of the most radical social changes. Academician Sakharov, the great scientist and noble civil rights champion of our epoch, even after his death, is still present and inspires an atmosphere of lofty moral standards. Over there, in the Soviet land, we can also feel the radiant influence of Solzhenytsin, a man who represents the great conscience of Russia, of Europe, and the world.

In this atmosphere of torment, of social drama, of occasional sparks of self-confident pride, and of inner struggle, a nation of giants is arising to overcome the crisis. In the course of these events, a new civic and democratic society is gradually emerging in the great Soviet Union.

Foreign Minister Meets Turkish Counterpart

AU1302082690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] BTA reporter Krasimir Drumev reported from Ottawa that a meeting took place there between Boyko Dimitrov, Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs, and Mesut Yilmaz, Turkish minister of foreign affairs. The two ministers have analyzed the state of bilateral relations against the background of the talks that were

conducted in Kuwait, and expressed the opinion that it would be appropriate to seek practical steps toward normalizing and developing Bulgarian-Turkish relations.

It was agreed that a meeting between the deputy ministers of foreign affairs of the two countries, at which this issue will be discussed, will take place in March.

Today Boyko Dimitrov will meet other foreign ministers, who are taking part in the "Open Sky" Conference of the 35 NATO and Warsaw Pact member countries in Ottawa.

BCP-UDF 'Declaration' on Roundtable's Role

AU1202135290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1220 GMT 12 Feb 90

["Text of Joint Declaration on the National Roundtable's Role and Status," "agreed upon" by the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and the Union of Democratic Forces; read by Georgi Pirinski, leader of the BCP delegation to the roundtable talks, at roundtable session in Sofia on 12 February—live]

[Text] The Bulgarian national roundtable is a specific expression of the democratic process that began as a result of 10 November 1989. The real political and social forces in the country are represented here. They are united by an exceptionally responsible and noble humanitarian goal. This goal is the guarantee for a peaceful transition to a democratic sociopolitical system. The national roundtable conforms with the development of democratic forces in Eastern Europe, with the general human aspiration for peace, understanding, and cooperation. It is a symbol and a real political instrument of nationwide importance.

The existence of this high-ranking, democratic forum is a result of the common understanding that under the present circumstances the National Assembly, the government, and other state institutions are capable of fully implementing their tasks only under a national consensus, of agreement among society's different forces. The national roundtable, through its broadly based representation, expresses the Bulgarian people's political will and is a guarantor for the irrerversible nature of the democratic process.

It is the national roundtable's historic mission to achieve specific agreements as a basis for solving the country's most important political and socioeconomic problems. In the first place, these will be problems related to the methods, stages, and deadlines for eliminating the totalitarian structures that have already been rejected by life experience, and the problems related to society's democratization and problems related to the fundamental ideas and principles of new draft laws and other legal acts likely to ensure the opportunity for us to adopt prompt and resolute measures to achieve the nationwide goals.

Realization of this exceptionally important role and status of the national roundtable can be implemented only under conditions of mutual confidence, in a constructive spirit, and with a sense of responsibility.

We propose to confirm our agreement with this text at today's session and to adopt it as a basic document for our common understanding about the national roundtable's role and status.

'Parallel' Roundtable Opens in Sofia 6 Feb

AU1202191990 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 7 Feb 90 p 3

[Danka Vasileva report: "New Features in the Portrait of Democracy"]

[Excerpts] Yesterday, a new event was added to the exciting developments around the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia. An alternative roundtable convened by the "Era - 3" Independent Conferation opened here. This association, which was established on 3 February 1990, includes the "Era - 3" Movement For an Alternative Civic Parliament and For Change, the Christian Democratic Party, the Bulgarian Democratic Youth Union, the "Business" National Independent Trade Union, and the Bulgarian National-Democratic Workers Party. [passage omitted]

At about 0920, a group of people coming from the Vitosha District approached the square of the People's Palace of Culture, where they set up a table and chairs. Representatives of the federation were at the same time preparing their session. I talked to their chairman, Slavormir Tsankov, who had been elected as primus inter pares, as it was explained to me later. He stated:

"We gathered here to express our protest because numerous democratic forces and social strata are not allowed to participate in discussing issues of crucial importance for our country. This is our first form of protest, but we intend to apply others. The goal of this roundtable, from the very beginning, is to deal with problems concerning the people, including their working problems and general humanitarian issues, and to adopt appropriate decisions that should be made accessible to the public in a spirit of glasnost. We are about to establish staff for the unification movement of democratic forces and progressive labor collectives in order to discuss social problems under a broader aspect, as it it is done in the GDR, in Hungary, Poland, and all civilized countries. Such problems should not be resolved by small groups that are now speaking on behalf of the entire people at the official roundtable talks inside this building." [passage omitted]

National Assembly Session To Convene 5 Mar

AU1202192790 Sofia BTA in English 1829 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 12 (BTA)—The State Council of Bulgaria convenes the Ninth National Assembly to its 15th Session on March 5, 1990.

Ministers State Readiness To Overcome 'Crisis'

AU1202140590 Sofia BTA in English 1313 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 12 (BTA)—The ministers of education, of economy and planning and the minister of foreign affairs of the new Cabinet declared their readiness to cooperate with all political forces in the country.

In their statements published in today's NARODNA ARMYIA the three ministers express their readiness to work responsibly for Bulgaria's overcoming the crisis.

We must take into consideration the opinion of the opposition and use the rational grains in their ideas to be able to rely on their support, said Mr Konstantin Kosev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of education. In his view even in "ill-intentined" criticism there is some reason which can always be useful and that the opinions and recommendations of the roundtable should be taken into account.

Mr Ivan Tenev, minister of economy and planning, considers it necessary to consult a broad circle of specialists irrespective of their party affiliation or political views. He is for a radical economic reform and complete transition to market economy.

Mr Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs, also declares himself to be for above-party policy. This policy will be formed in a dialigue with the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, non-party members and all political forces and the constructive positions of the national roundtable will be taken into consideration. That is why I do not think that there can be a negative change in the attitude to us in the international arena, the foreign minister states. In his opinion Bulgaria will not make her status quo worse, on the contrary, it may raise it, which will also contribute to the development of international cooperation in all fields financial, economic, political.

Supreme Council Declaration on New Government

AU1202224190 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Feb 90 p 1

["Declaration of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) Supreme Council," submitted by Rumen Serbezov, chairman of the BCP Parliamentary Group, at the National Assembly session in Sofia on 8 February]

[Text] The 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] adopted a policy of real restructuring in socialist society and within the party along the path of their consistent democratization.

We are now involved in a particularly important stage of the democratization process in our country, a stage that requires our highest sense of responsbility.

It is evident that the existence of a strong and efficient government is one of the chief prerequisites for overcoming the intensified crisis in our economic sector and in other spheres of our country's social life. On 3 February 1990, the National Assembly unanimously passed a confidence vote in favor of Andrey Lukanov, entrusting him with the establishment of such a government. This vote inspired the broad Bulgarian public with justified hope and was generally welcomed.

In order to form a strong and competent government, the prime minister devoted his optimal efforts to the involvement of authoritative and competent representatives of all social and political forces in the Cabinet. These efforts relied on numerous statements by the political forces that participated in the former government and of the Union of Democratic Forces in support of the requirement for a broadly representative coalition government. The prime minister's efforts were also based on the unmistakable awareness that the requirement to overcome the crisis and the peaceful transition to a pluralistic civic society make it necessary to subject narrow-minded party interests to the nationwide goals and tasks that are now decisive for everyone's destinies.

The facts, however, show that at this moment, and under the present circumstances of the country's political situation, not all people in question are prompted by the understanding about the priority of Bulgaria's nationwide interests over all other things, and in the purpose of guaranteeing our country's peaceful and stable transition to a democratic social system.

The Union of Democratic Forces did not agree to participate in a coalition government based on national consensus at this stage of development. The Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, despite its official consent, also withdrew at the last moment, basing its sudden decision on the fact that the Union of Democratic Forces is not participating.

This development created a new and considerably complicated situation. We should by no means forget that the increasingly threatening deterioration of our economic sphere cannot be halted without prompt and decisive anti-crisis measures. The situation of the domestic market is deteriorating. We should pursue a peaceful method of transition toward a democratic society, a method that excludes all unnecessary upheavals and excesses. We should by all means prevent our country's international prestige and security from being affected to any extent whatsoever.

We once more declare that the forthcoming free elections will be decided by the supreme power of the people's vote, which is called upon to determine who should assume the responsbility of ruling the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Our party will do everything within its power to guarantee truly free and democratic elections.

Nevertheless, considering the present circumstances, the BCP is convinced that it should assume national responsibility for the normal functioning of the state and for ensuring the democratic renewal of our society under the conditions of civil peace and stability. This is the duty of the BCP today toward the people and our homeland.

On the basis of this understanding, the BCP proposes to the National Assembly that a government be composed of BCP members, basing itself on the support of all social and political forces in the country.

This decision was not dictated by narrow-minded party interests, but by national considerations. We expressed our wish and we pleaded with the other forces, we did everything within our power to establish a broad coalition government based on national consensus. We are not responsible for the fact that such a government could not be established. We cannot fail to express our concern about the peaceful transition to democratic society in our country, about our country's stability, and Bulgaria's vital interests.

Our party still offers its hand to everyone who is ready to devote his honest efforts to our motherland's worthy future. We declare, as a party, that we are always ready to discuss any proposals whatsoever on expanding the form and composition of this government.

We appeal to all our compatriots to support the party policy aimed at democratization, to act in favor of national consensus and cooperation for the sake of Bulgaria's peaceful present and future.

Lukanov Discusses New Government

AU1202182590 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Feb 90 p 2

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO "on-the-spot interview" with Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, after the 14th Session of the Ninth National Assembly in Sofia on 8 Feburary]

[Text] Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, made the following statement: Until the last moment I was optimistic that the consultations for the establishment of a new government were going well, and I was already considering the formation of a new type of cabinet with a considerably reduced participation of Communist Party members, with five cabinet members from the Agrarian Party, and five non-party ministers. Unfortunately, things did not develop in this manner, which did not permit me to submit this cabinet list, which was already prepared, to the National Assembly and made it necessary to conduct further consultations for the establishment of a government solely composed of Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] members.

I am pleased that the National Assembly approved this Council of Ministers. I think that it includes competent and knowledgeable people who are capable of obtaining the results we are expecting in the forthcoming months. It is my personal opinion that the number of tasks awaiting us is limited, but the tasks are very important. They are related to the preparation of elections, the adoption of an anti-crisis program, and perhaps also should extend to the development of basic postulates for a radical economic reform. Last but not least, these tasks should also include the maintenance of Bulgaria's international relations and contacts. The burden is heavy. I could actually think of some more pleasant tasks for myself at this very moment. However, it seems that I have no other choice than taking over the job.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO asked Andrey Lukanov the following question: "Why does the Cabinet list not include non-party people, who unlike the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] and the Union of Democratic Forces, would be willing to participate in the Council of Ministers?" Andrey Lukanov replied as follows to this question:

Numerous nonparty members should have been included in the initial cabinet list. Neverthless, at the present stage, the Supreme Party Council decided not to do so, which I consider correct under the present circumstances. I would like to stress that this government has no ambitions of being a party government in the narrow sense of this term, and that it does not intend to pursue narrow-minded party interests. I stress this with the whole responsibility that I bear, and this is the party's stand. We will strive to be a government for all Bulgarian citizens that is optimally defending the interests of the nation, not party interests, and we will be open for dialogues with all forces. I hope that at some stage we may be able to return to our original plan. The present government is open to any new developments and changes.

The new situation that has emerged has increased the urgent requirement for elections. During the preliminary consultations, my good friend, Petur Beron, was personally invited to participate in the government but he refused on account of the discipline that his membership in the Union of Democratic Forces is imposing on him, regardless of the fact that he was interested in this particular Cabinet post. I would not like to comment on the refusal of the BZNS Permanent Board to participate in the cabinet, but I would like to express my gratification at the fact that the National Assembly deputies from the BZNS expressed their support for the government I proposed and declared their readiness to cooperate.

A similar readiness was expressed by the Union of Democratic Forces representatives. For this reason, I am reassured that the government shall be able to rely on a broad dialogue and on broad consensus with all those who are interested.

I would not say that this is a provisional government; it is a fully fledged government endowed with all necessary political functions and powers. Nevertheless, I have tried to involve people who are really competent and are capable of initiating the necessary changes, enabling us to begin dismantling a system composed of innumerable normative acts and obstacles that are obstructing the people's initiative and preventing them from engaging in independent actions.

ASO's Vasilev, Nikolov Reject 'Pseudo-Unity'

AU1202222590 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Feb 90 p 6

[Statement sent by Academician Kiril Vasilev and Professor Dr. Ivan Nikolov of the BCP-Alternative Socialist Association to the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Communist Party; date not given: "Pseudo-Unity Is Short-Lived"]

[Text] The Alternative Socialist Association [ASO], as a faction of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], confirms that it regards itself as an independent force that pursues the goal of contributing to the party's radical renewal in the spirit of the documents adopted at the 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress. The important question related to the unanimity of the principles on the party's radical renewal based on the new ideological, theoretical, and organizational postulates was discussed at the congress. Thanks to the established radical wing of the party, represented by Petur Mladenov, Andrey Lukanov, Aleksandur Lilov, and Dobri Dzhurov, and by all other reformist forces, the documents that were adopted at the congress provide a promising basis for restructuring both the party and our homeland. At the same time, the ASO is convinced that the party's political and organizational unity can be achieved only on the basis of unanimity on fundamental problems of social development and on the issue of the party's role and goals within this development. Any compromise for the sake of organizational unity but at the expense of ideological conviction and unanimity is an explosively dangerous compromise, since such pseudo-unity would inevitably be short-lived.

In our opinion the elected Presidium, with few exceptions, is striving to achieve new successes along the difficult path that is awaiting us. Therefore, we shall support it to the extent to which it is following this particular line of policy. Our cateogrical objection, however, is addressed against the compromise on the question of cadres that was made in electing members of the Supreme Party Council. Some of the members are not enjoying a good political reputation and are functionaries of the former apparatus. They are exponents of outdated modes of thought and action, and it will be very difficult for us, as a minority, to defend our positions within this leading organ.

We propose, and we appeal to all those 22 persons who were additionally elected, to resign from the Supreme BCP Council. The congress in its overwhelming majority pronounced itself against the election of people who had filled important positions in the former apparatus to the Supreme Party Council. Everyone should make his own decision in this respect, since this is a question of personal honor.

We, the signataries of this declaration, are resigning as members of the Supreme Party Council, and declare that we shall devote all our efforts to the party's restructuring and its transformation into a modern, humane, democratic, and political force that is striving for Bulgaria's renewal and prosperity.

The fact that this declaration is delayed results from the circumstance that it was submitted to the ASO Provisional Political Council for mutual agreement on 7 February 1990.

Khristo Ganev Resigns From Supreme Council

AU1202150490 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Feb 90 p 2

["Letter" from Supreme Party Council member Khristo Ganev to the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Communist Party, with a copy to the Editorial Board of RABOTNICHESKO DELO; issued in Sofia on 6 February]

[Text] Comrades:

I learned to my great surprise and amazement that at the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress I was elected member of the Supreme Party Council. I was not a delegate at the congress, nor did I attend the closed sessions, so that I was denied the opportunity to ask for my candidacy to be withdrawn. I have no idea who proposed me or why, but I am obliged to declare that it was done without my knowledge and consent.

While I thank the congressional delegates for voting for me, I find it very awkward to have to inform the party members and the public that I am unable to undertake the obligations and functions of a member of the BCP Supreme Party Council.

From 9 September 1944 until this day, I have never been a member of the leadership even of a primary party organization. I have no experience in this respect and it is now too late for a 66-year-old to acquire such experience. I am sure that the party's supreme organ would gain no benefit from my presence, and we have looked at and listened to obedient yes-men for long enough.

Furthermore, I must confess that at the present time I am very clear in my mind as to who I am against, but still have no constructive program of my own, without which it is absurd for me to be a member of any leadership whatsoever.

I would not like my viewpoint to be interpreted in any way differently from the considerations that I have set out in this letter.

I request that publicity be given to my statement in the party organ RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

Sofia, 6 February 1990.

Yours faithfully,

Khristo Ganev, artistic director for films.

BCP Forum Clarifies Platform, Membership

AU1102190190 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Feb 90 p 2

[Text] In connection with increasingly frequent inquiries, the Coordination Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Democratic Forum Ideological Platform wishes to inform its supporters that the initial statement of the forum's members and of the Communists supporting the platform, declaring that forum members and supporters will not occupy any elective positions in the party leadership, at least for the time being, remains unchanged and has not been contravened. Our member Docent Dragomir Draganov has by no means been elected to any leading party organ. Dragomir Rashkov Draganov, who is a member of the BCP Commission on Party Ethics and of the Commission for the Preparation of the BCP Election Platform, is a journalist of the daily TRUD and is not a supporter of our ideological platform.

Signed: The Coordination Council of the BCP-Democratic Forum.

Pirinski Statement at 14th BCP Congress

AU0902091990 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Feb 90 p 4

[Statement by Georgi Pirinski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and delegate from the Blaoevgrad Municipality, at the 14th Bulgarian Communist Party Extraordinary Congress in Sofia on 31 January]

[Excerpts] Esteemed comrades, I shall try to dwell on one question only. It is the question of our future activities following the congress.

I believe and I think we are all convinced of this fact, that from now on our party should play the role assigned to it by society. We will be the party of the future, as long as we respond to the most important and crucial requirements of our society as it exists today, and as long as we take the challenges that our society is facing into consideration.

Another task of major importance for us is the task of consolidating international confidence in the solvency of our economic sphere. This applies to an evaluation of the international market and the international banking-financial market with regard to our country's solvency situation.

The actions required for solving these problems are quite unpopular. If we decide to devote all our efforts and subject all our interests to solving these problems, and this is what we should do, we should be ready to answer all questions emerging in our society on this subject and to explain why we are acting in this manner, what are the reasons for the current crisis, and so forth. If we do not cope with the situation in this manner, it would mean that we shun our responsibility as a ruling party that occupies the leading government posts and has a majority in parliament, and which no one has yet released from the responsibility of solving the most crucial problems of our soceity with the cooperation of the party members who are representing us in the government and in parliament. [passage omitted dealing with the congressional Manifesto and the importance of democratic discussions within the party and with all members of society for the purpose of resolving economic and political problems]

Along with holding discussions that should include all experts, all independent specialists, and all people who are capable of proposing sensible solutions, and involve the active participation of all working people and all labor collectives from towns, villages, and various institutions, we should also immediately take action.

In this respect, the party is facing an exceptionally crucial problem that we should resolve in order to become an active party. We are also facing a historic chance, a really historic opportunity in this respect. The problem is that the hierarchic tradition implanted in our consciousness forces us to look up. We are always expecting instructions from the top, and whenever we accomplish something we are expecting an assessment of our work from the top. This tradition of looking up has prevented us from looking around and from seeking contact with people who are ready to work together with us for the achievement of a certain goal, for people who are ready to assume a personal risk, as Comrade Prodev said, for people who are ready to accept a confidence vote and to assume the risk of solving a problem in a given sphere. This is one of our most crucial problems, in my opinion, because it existed throughout the pre-congressional period and also emerged at the congress. We are still aware of the delegates' wish to wait for the decisions of the center, for the platform that the center is expected to submit, and for instructions from the center. It is certainly true that action requires a given platform, that a platform is required for overcoming one's own doubts, but it is also a fact that party functionaries in some places did not wait for instructions from the top. They relied on their own experience in winning the confidence of labor collectives and primary party organizations. We should learn from this experience and try to apply it. What about the chance I am talking about?

Our party is composed of active and responsible members—workers, peasants, and economic managers—and, as we heard from the report on the composition of the congress delegates, these particular groups are widely represented at this congress. Precisely these classes and strata of our society would be capable of rescuing our country from the current crisis, as long as they unite their efforts and find a common language. You should notice that political parties in most countries either represent the working classes or the owners of production means. In our country, we are able to conduct a social dialogue that is absolutely required for the new social consensus, above all, as Communists and as people who are concerned about one and the same party, about one and the same idea. We can find points of contact between the

interests that each of us is objectively representing here as an industrial worker, as an agricultural worker, or as an economic manager who is responsible for his company. We are united by one common aspiration—that socialism should be successful, prosperous, and competitive in Bulgaria. [passage omitted expressing general reflections on party reform]

You all know that numerous sociologists and Sovietologists have been observing and studying us for a long time. They were cited by some previous delegates. One of the two crucial shortcomings of socialist societies, which those Western experts have noticed and which they consider as an incontestable argument for their theory about the inevitable decline of socialism, is the so-called negative egalitarianism. I think that it applies to us, Bulgarians, to a double extent. I appreciated Comrade Colonel's [no name given] remarks on the characteristic features of Bulgarian society that evoked special attention at the congress, and I noticed in particular what he said about the insufficient readiness to take a risk, which characterize the Bulgarian individual and the Bulgarian people as a whole. In my view, this is a particularly serious shortcoming that we should overcome as individuals and as a society.

I would like to close my statement by citing the final passage of the Manifesto. [passage omitted]

Thank you for your attention.

Lilov Speech at Congress

AU0902115590 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Feb 90 p 3

[Speech by Aleksandur Lilov, delegate from the Belogradchik Municipality, Mikhaylovgrad Obast, at the 14th Bulgarian Communist Party Extraordinary Congress in Sofia on 31 January]

[Text] Comrades, I shall try to speak as frankly as possible because today the party requires a sharp debate based on inexorable facts and because time is not working in our favor. Our party has entered a stage of development that can only be described as a situation of crisis, regardless of whether we realize this or not. This is the party's situation, as also appears from the congressional debates held so far. The party is not ready—either from an ideological, or from the political and organizational points of view—nor are our cadres prepared to face the important events and serious trials that are awaiting us in the near future.

There is no reason to dramatize the present situation or to underestimate the party's strength, but we should neither delude ourselves nor lose our self-confidence. The process of the weakening of the party is visible. It should be halted and the party's capacity for new thinking and new action should be resolutely enhanced. We should not delude ourselves that what has aleady happened to the parties in other socialist countries could not happen in our country. Such delusions are dangerous, not only for the party's future, but also for the fate of socialism in Bulgaria.

We should soberly evaluate the existing facts and realize the fact that our party and our society are involved in a serious crisis that has not yet reached its climax. The situation in our country is expected to deteriorate further in the near future and perhaps to become even more exacerbated as a result of the economic crisis.

As usual, the eternal question emerges: What should we do?

In my opinion, the extraordinary congress should, as soon as possible, resolve two priority strategic problems and two urgent tactical questions.

The first of the strategic problems is: What kind of socialist society do we intend to achieve through the restructuring process that has been initiated?

This is by no means a theoretical question to be regarded as an end in itself but a crucial political question that concerns us all.

We should clearly state our political strategy and our direct goal today—in 1990. I insist on the argument that the target is not just the construction of socialism, but the construction of democratic socialism. We should by no means rely on the assumption that socialism is "better" or "the best" in all respects, including democracy, but on the clearly defined strategy of radical, political, economic and legal reforms to be implemented as soon as possible for the sake of our final goal—namely democratic socialism.

We should immediately, but reasonably of course, proceed to dismantle all echelons of the administrative-command system and to construct a real democratic social system in our country.. This should be carried out at all levels, in all areas, and along all lines. We should not waste any time. We could not possibly be such bad students of history and such shortsighted members of a political party not to realize the irreversible consequences of any delay in this repect.

If we intend to overcome the confidence crisis and restore our social prestige, if we intend to reassume the leadership of the masses, we should resolutely endorse the platform of democratic and humane socialism, not as a long-term target but as a forthcoming change, as a real revolutionary reform process enabling us to overcome the current crisis and join the community of advanced, civilized countries.

The second categorical question is: What kind of party should we represent in the future?

This is a no less important question, and perhaps, it is even more crucial than the first one.

As appears from the congressional proceedings, we encounter considerable delusions and nostalgia in this

respect. There is a great deal of faith in bright values and a high degree of outdated dogmatic thinking in all of us. All this prevents us from realizing the nature and extent of the problems we are facing.

There is no reason for us to renounce our 100-year old history—how many parties in our country and the world can boast of such assets?

There is no reason for us to engage in self-deprecation and we should not allow ourselves to be crucified.

Nevertheless, there are many things we should reassess and we should radically renew our party. This applies to its theoretical, political, oranizational, and moral aspects, and also to the party cadres.

If we should fail to do so, we will be out of step with time and with the changes that are now under way in our society, and also with the most progressive strata of the workers class, especially as regards our youths and intelligentsia.

There is even more, namely the question of when we intend to accomplish all this? If we do not do it on time, we will suffer the fate of the German, Polish, and Czechoslovak parties, not to mention the Romanian Communist Party.

Some comrades are now raising the slogan that our party should be more militant. I consider this an unrealistic slogan. The party cannot adopt a more militant policy in its present situation and considering the current confidence crisis. The correct tactics today consist of renewal, unity and the struggle to win the elections in May 1990. Only by promptly and actively proceeding toward its renewal, only by preserving its organizational and political unity, and only through a vigorous political election campaign, will the party restore the people's confidence and play its role in the vanguard of restructuring.

The extraordinary congress should make its choice: Either engage in the party's drastic renewal, or adopt partial changes that, I am sure, would cause the loss of the party's most valuable assets, and subsequently even force it to relinquish its role in society.

We still have a historic chance today. Let us not miss it and let us not commit a mistake for which the future would never forgive us.

The following two tactical questions are awaiting us:

The first is related to the upcoming elections. A very serious election platform is required. This platform should not consist of a rethorical political document but of a new policy, the policy of reforms. Unmistakable principles of political, economic, and legal reforms are required. A program on overcoming the economic crisis is called for. A very thoroughly conceived and realistic economic reform program is required.

Unfortunately, we are greatly lagging behind in connection with preparing our new policy. This is our greatest shortcoming in my opinion, both as regards our party's role as political leader, and especially in connection with the government. Unless we overcome this shortcoming and adopt competent and realistic concepts for the solution of the current, exessively difficult socioeconomic problems, I do not see how we can win the elections.

The second tactical question concerns our dialogue with the other political and social movements. Numerous comrades and certain party circles cannot understand that the easy times of our political and ideological party activities are gone forever. We must now learn to work under the conditions of democracy and pluralism. It is no longer sufficient for us to act as militant and self-confident propagandists as we did in the past. We must assert our ideological and political stands under the conditions of sharp competiion. This is the era of political dialogue and political struggle, and those who win the people's confidence will be victorious in this struggle.

Numerous things are required in this respect, but the question that is of crucial importance for me, and I fully agree with Comrade Stefan Prodev in this respect, is the question of electing a strong and competent party leadership, capable of representing the entire party and of earning social prestige. The interests of every one of us, including myself, should be subject to this imperative requirement. We should give a chance to new and well trained cadres. Unless the Extraordinary Congress copes with this problem successfully, it is not even worth holding this congress.

The party should settle its accounts with the Todor Zhivkov phenomenon and distance itself from those who have disgraced themselves and the party.

Neverthless, we can no longer explain everything by blaming this self-appointed pretender and his entourage. Each of us, including myself, have our own share of responsibility, to a different extent, but a real responsibility. I am ready to bear the consequences of my own responsibility in this respect. I deeply respect those who fought with manly courage against the authoritarian regime. Nevertheless, the present mass gathering of "fighters" and long- suffering "critics" of Todor Zhivkov and Zhivkovism is an unhealthy phenomenon in our party. It obstructs the party's purification from the damage of the authoritarian regime, not to speak of the effect on party ethics.

Personal responsibility, however, is not sufficient for resolving this problem. The party cannot fail to assume the full responsibility, it cannot avoid honestly accepting the people's criticism, and it cannot escape paying the relevant political price. We are not talking about repentence, as some comrades demand, although it would not harm certain people and organs. I am talking about a serious policy, about social and political ethics, about civic and personal conscience. The party shall only gain prestige and confidence as long as it punishes the culprits and draws serious conclusions for itself. Naturally, in

doing so, the party should not permit that all achievements of the past be denied, that all Communists and cadres should be insulted wholesale. Those who are insulting us with such vehemence today are not interested in learning the truth. This is their political and moral weakness. We should defend the truth, the whole truth, and by telling the truth, we should defend the party, its cadres, and all decent Communists in Bulgaria.

In closing I would like to point out my conviction that both pessmism and delusions are out of place in this respect, but care and hard effort are more then ever necessary. The party today should choose the correct path that it has decided to embark upon and display its firm determination to proceed along this path. It is the path of restructuring, the path of the party's renewal, and I firmly support this choice.

Expert Outlines BCP Factions

AU1002152590 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 29 Jan 90 p 2

[Commentary by Professor Stoyko Popov, doctor of philosophical sciences: "My Disagreements"]

[Excerpts] There are many differences between the Alternative Socialist Association (ASO) and the "Bulgarian Road to Europe." The "Bulgarian Road to Europe" platform is an ideological tendency in the party, while the ASO is a faction within the party that also has its own theoretical ideological platform. In my comments, I would like to share with the NARODNA ARMIYA readers my disagreements with the theoretical and methodological questions reflected in both these platforms.

The ASO claims that its theoretical ideological foundation is Marxism, but this is a kind of Marxism that underestimates Leninism. In my view, it is stupid, to say the least, at the end of the 20th century to acknowledge Marxism, but at the same time to belittle Leninism. [passage omitted]

The ASO and other groups calling themselves Marxists speak out against the Bolshevization of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]. However, the terms Bolshevization and Leninization are synonymous. The ASO is probably confusing the concepts of Bolshevization and Stalinization. [passage omitted]

In the basic premises of the "Bulgarian Road to Europe" platform, a defense is made of the viewpoint that "with every passing day the absurd division of the continent into socialist and capitalist camps is disappearing. An unprecedented process of unification is under way...." I consider that the division of the countries in Europe and throughout the world into capitalist and socialist ones is not an invention of some person, but is a real historical fact. Today world socialism encompasses one-third of mankind, and includes dozens of countries and peoples.

The authors of the "Bulgarian Road to Europe" platform see only one trend in Europe: the trend for the countries of Europe to draw together and establish closer mutual links. However, they fail to see, or underestimate, another tendency, namely that of opposition between the capitalist and socialist countries in Europe and the world. [passage omitted]

The authors of the platforms of the ASO and the "Bulgarian Road to Europe" raise the slogan of the depolitization of the Army and the security organs. The Army and the security organs are part of the state in the class society. The state is a peculiar political organization of society. This is true for the both the bourgeois state and the socialist one. In this situation the question logically arises: What does depolitization of the political organizations in the class society mean, if anything? [passage omitted]

Government Says 'No Room' for Monarchist Ideas

AU1202220190 Sofia BTA in English 2127 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, November 12 (BTA)—In connection with the interviews with the former Bulgarian King Simeon II which were recently published in certain mass media and especially in connection with his interview aired in the Bulgarian Television "Every Sunday" news and views show on February 11, 1990, the Council of Ministers has made the following declaration:

"The matter of the state structure and the republican form of government in Bulgaria was definitively settled by the Bulgarian people by an overwhelming majority at a free referendum. The people then had their say on the role and the responsibility of the Saxe-Coburg-Gotha dynasty for the series of national catastrophes and disasters which befell the Bulgarian people under its rule.

"On the strength of the Constitution and in view of the Bulgarian people's harsh historical experience and democratic aspirations and convictions, there is no room for the revival of monarchist ideas in Bulgaria's public life. The manifested ambitions for some role in Bulgarian politics are strange and absolutely unacceptable, as are the attempts to advise the Bulgarian people about the way they should manage their affairs and to comment on Bulgaria's relations with another friendly state in a manner which distorts the historical truth and is inconsistent with Bulgaria's true national interests."

Trade Union Appeals for End to Strikes

AU0902121490 Sofia RABOTNICHSKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Jan 90 p 2

[BTA Report: "Shall Stores Close Down?"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Independent Trade Union of workers in trade, tourism, the cooperative sector, and the sphere of services appeals to the trade union organizations and their members in the spheres of domestic and foreign trade, public catering, bread production, tourism, recreation, and spa treatment, in cooperatives engaged in the processing of secondary raw

materials and territorial supplies, to manifest restraint in connection with strikes, urging the workers to apply their common sense in solving crucial problems related to the labor collectives' economic and social development.

An appeal adopted at a plenum of the trade union and submitted to BTA for publication states as follows: We consider a constructive dialogue based on equal rights with the government and other state and economic organs, combined with real actions on the part of competent organs, as the most correct method for changing the approach toward workers in the aforementioned branch. The appeal points out that a report on important issues affecting the life of labor collectives in the aforementioned branch was submitted to the National Assembly chairman and to the chairman of the Council of Ministers on 17 January. Some of these issues are related to taxation and to a more just distribution of wages, to the simplification of administrative structures, and to the determination of price reductions in the trade sector on the basis of real expenditures, overtime labor, working hours, small-scale mechanization, and other factors.

Along with this, the firm resolve of the trade union was expressed at the meeting with the higher authorities that extreme actions would be adopted, unless these just demands are satisfied by 15 February 1990.

Further Review of Secretary Baker's Visit

Economic Statements Analyzed

AU1302092790 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 8 Feb 90 p 2

[Vladimir Matejovky commentary: "Uncle Sam's Promises"]

[Text] The absolute technical and technological supremacy of the United States, which was so apparent after World War II, has disappeared in many areas. Nevertheless, the United States remains, for the time being, both economically and politically the strongest country of the Western world and its word counts. That is why it is so advantageous to have the United States on one's side. Not in anticipation of a shower of dollars, which would not be reasonable in view of its leaking budget, but due to its position in the world and therefore in all international organizations. Adopting this point of view when looking at the economic portions of J. Baker's speech [in Prague on 7 February], we have to acknowledge that he did not come empty-handed.

It seems that the United States has reviewed its former attitude that the changes in East Europe are primarily the concern of West Europe, especially of the nascent superpower in the form of the European Community. At the moment there are sharp polemics under way in the EC related to the new location of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Uncle Sam, tired, but still pulling the wires, endorsed [CSSR Finance Minister] Klaus' proposal—that is, the proposal to make Prague the headquarters of the bank!!! One of our few well-known bankers, B. Studynka, commented: "Well, the matter is settled...." What significance would this have for us? In addition to the possibility of training banking specialists, whom we are desperately short of, Prague would gain in reputation. The place where such a bank is located is a place where other banks would also like to be. Imagining Prague as the London of Eastern Europe seems to be a bold idea, but not an unbelievable one. Of course, the level of our communication infrastructure would be a large handicap. Therefore, we should not celebrate in haste. On the other hand, U.S. opinion can be decisive in view of its dominant position in the financial world.

For the same reason, Baker's brief reference to U.S. support for our application to the IMF is very important. The United States is the largest participant in the IMF (19.4 percent) and consequently has the largest voting rights. It can therefore be said without exaggeration that, after this promise, we are already half-members of the world's most important financial institution, which entails advantages for the entire national economy.

The promise of relaxations within the framework of the COCOM is a further significant indication. Nobody doubts that the United States has a decisive word in COCOM and this organization prevents the entry of computers and other important technology into the Eastern countries. The condition related to the protection against "unauthorized parties" is interesting. Is the fear of the "Soviet threat" still surviving or did Baker have somebody else in mind?

And, finally, let us talk about the promise of the most-favored-nation clause. The hundred times repeated theme is popular but does not carry a great economic impact—in the short run, at least. Elimination of a giant customs barrier will hardly make the United States an important trading partner for us. First, it is the most demanding market; second, we are substantially farther away than West Europe. It could be that only some branches, such as glass, can look forward to a significant increase in trade turnover.

Speech Labeled 'Extraordinarily Important'

AU1302095190 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 8 Feb 90 p 2

[Ivana Stepankova commentary: "Stability, Support, and Trust"]

[Text] Well-informed sources knew days in advance that U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker's speech in the Carolinium Hall would be extraordinarily important, that it would move Prague a bit further into the limelight of European politics. After all, the very fact that Czechoslovakia was included subsequently in the complex itinerary of J. Baker's European tour provided a certain evaluation of developments in our country on the part of Washington. As the CNN television network stated, the secretary of state had originally intended to visit Bulgaria and Romania but the U.S. Administration evaluates developments in these countries as being not yet sufficiently and unambiguously pro-democratic.

The course of the 90-minute talk with President Havel, the talks with J. Dienstbier, and the speech at Charles University clearly showed that the U.S. official's visit to Prague came off in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and U.S. support for the policy of the new Czechoslovak Government.

J. Baker characterized the present situation in Central and East Europe as a transitional path from revolution to democracy when the spirit of the revolution ought to move from the street to parliaments. The United States would like to cooperate with politically, militarily, and economically stabilized states in this area, with states that would no longer act as a "buffer" between two systems, but would instead be an equal part of free Europe. Washington ascribes an important role to fair and free elections that will lead to the formation of truly legitimate governments, because only such governments can codify the new political and military-security situation on the continent.

Before departing for Moscow, Secretary Baker also expressed support for M. Gorbachev's efforts to carry out changes in the USSR. Democracy can secure a prosperity and security for Europe which tanks were

never able to provide. According to J. Baker, the Soviet representative has come to understand this. Speaking in the Carolinium Hall, the secretary of state also expounded the United States' ideas about the future of NATO and the presence of U.S. troops in Europe. The North Atlantic alliance ought to become politicized [mel by se zpolitizovat], in the opinion of Washington, and become a guarantee of stability in the region. In this context it is necessary to call attention to the words of V. Havel, who told J. Baker that, in connection with the expected major reduction of Soviet forces in Central Europe, it would be beneficial if the numbers of U.S. troops in Europe, too, were reduced.

Secretary Baker's speech in the Carolinium Hall met with interest throughout Europe. For the first time, he officially expressed U.S. consent to the convening of a summit meeting of the 35 CSCE signatory states in Helsinki this year, even though he attached three conditions to it. The process of strengthening security in Europe could thus serve as an example for many of the other continents.

The U.S. secretary of state's visit to Prague foreshadowed V. Havel's visit to the United States, the date of which is drawing near. For the first time in history, the highest representative of this country will hold talks in Washington, and shortly thereafter he will sit at the negotiating table in the Kremlin. Until recently the CSSR was a country will a dull, stereotyped foreign policy. Now the world knows about us. However, we will not manage to return to the European family as an equal member without help.

Dubcek Meets With U.S. Bankers in Prague

AU1202155690 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Feb 90 p 2

[CTK report from the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, met in Prague on 5 February with the representatives of the First National Bank of Boston, one of the largest banks in the U.S. and the world. The guests expressed the wish to participate in the revival of our economy and to invest, for example, in the modernization of airports and air transportation, freight reloading stations, the telephone network, and the car industry.

Poll: Majority Want Soviet Troops Out Now

LD1202230490 Prague CTK in English 2019 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 12 (CTK)—A total of 61 per cent of Czechoslovak people are of the opinion that Soviet soldiers should leave at once, 32 per cent answered that they should withdraw by the end of this year, three per cent were of the opinion that they should stay for several years and one per cent that they should not leave at all, according to a public opinion poll carried out from January 31 to February 6.

770 Czechoslovak citizens over 15 years took part in the poll.

One-fifth of respondents said that the two Germanys should unite as soon as possible. 36 per cent were for unification in the future and 29 per cent supported the division and preservation of the two German states. Dealing with the question if unified Germany could be dangerous for the security of Czechoslovakia, Europe and the whole world the respondents answered as follows: for Czechoslovakia—45 per cent said yes, 46 per cent no, 9 per cent do not know. For European security—44 per cent yes, 47 per cent no, 9 per cent do not know. For the world—29 per cent yes, 58 per cent no, 13 per cent do not know.

Israel's Arens Meets With Calfa, Dubcek

AU1202195890 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Feb 90 pp 1, 3

["RUDE PRAVO, CTK"-signed report: "On Diplomatic Ties; First Visit to Prague by the Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs"]

[Excerpt] Prague—[passage omitted] M. Arens, Israeli minister of foreign affairs, was received 8 February by CSSR Premier Marian Calfa. Their conversation centered on the possibilities of a fast restoration of relations, which, in the opinion of the Israeli partner, should not be just good and proper but truly friendly. Although Israel is a small country, M. Arens said, it is a place where an enormous amount of knowledge is concentrated. From the outset, therefore, the development of cooperation in science and technology promises good prospects. Premier Calfa also expressed interest in the experiences of the Israeli state economic sector, which, in contrast to many Czechoslovak state enterprises, is highly efficient. In the discussion, great attention was paid to the possibilities of developing direct contacts among people.

The same day M. Arens was also received by Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the Federal Assembly. Both sides stressed their will to normalize mutual relations and the need to develop them further. The two representatives also exchanged views on the present international situation with special emphasis on the situation in Europe.

Havel Shown Environmental Problems in Bohemia

LD1202152190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] President Vaclav Havel today visited industrial centers in North Bohemia. First he stopped in the village of Cejkovice, where he was interested in the recultivation in progress there. Despite protests by environmentalists, more than 12,000 trees have been cut down there, despite the fact that there has been a much simpler and cheaper solution available. After a short visit to the village, Vaclav Havel said that it looks like the aftermath

of World War II. Problems of key villages, which have caused the decline of smaller villages, were therefore discussed.

President Vaclav Havel then stopped on the banks of the Nechranice water reservoir and in the coal-crushing plant in the Nastup mine in Tusimice. Originally the dam was intended for recreational purposes, but emissions of sulfur and heavy metals resulted in the reservoir becoming unfit for swimming. The negative consequences of the Tusimice power station operation for forests in the Krusne mountains and the state of health of the population have, in fact been, been concealed and distorted.

President Vaclav Havel was interested in the working and social conditions in the crushing plant where mostly women work. As Petr Miller, federal minister of labor and social affairs, was also able to see, there are no social amenities there. High levels of dust and the possibilities for its reduction were also discussed.

Addresses Rally

LD1202195690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] President Vaclav Havel today visited industrial centers of the North Bohemian region. After visits to Tusimice and Kadan, he addressed a rally of Chomutov citizens.

[Begin Havel recording] Dear friends, unlike some of those who have spoken before me, I have not been able to write my speech. I have two reasons for this. Yesterday, I could not write it because I was writing my speech for the U.S. Congress, which I will deliver there in a week's time. The second reason why I have not written the speech is that I first wanted to travel through North Bohemia, and only after having done so, to speak about it. We traveled through it this morning, and I saw piles of ash like Egyptian pyramids, villages which are dying, decaying towns, houses like rabbit hutches. We also visited some work places, and the impression is terrible.

While in a car on the way to Chomutov I realized one thing: I remembered that last year in January, shortly after my imprisonment, my friend, Czech writer Ludvik Vaculik, wrote an article entitled "Communism is a Beating." I realized one thing—occasionally we were beaten, particularly in the 1950's. But anyone can do the beating—Pinochet does the beating now, there are many regimes in the world which do. But this type of totalitarian system knew something more than just beatings. It knew how to poison. It knew how to poison not only bodies, in the form of this terrible air that you have to breathe here, but also how to poison souls, which is worse by far. Our souls are poisoned. Your souls, too, are poisoned. They [not further identified] were systematically poisoning you. Some kind of peculiar ash, some kind of peculiar fallout, some kind of peculiar sulphur was gradually falling into our souls. And this is a terrible work of destruction. All of us, without exception, are marked by it. Just think what kind of game they played with you. The starting point for them was the idea—afterwords, the deluge. They didn't care what came afterward. They did not care what their children, and their children's children would say. And they tried to bribe you. They paid you more just so that you would not notice that there is puss coming out of the eyes of your children. They paid you, they bribed you, so that you had enough money for a video recorder, and they wanted you to forget that the children could not watch the video because of their eyes.

But it is not just that they lied to you, not just that they were bribing you, not just that they were poisoning you, but they will still not leave it alone. Now they are scaring you. They tell you that there will be poverty, that Havel will introduce inflation; they tell you that you will be unemployed. They are scaring you. They are stirring the mud. Watch out for them. [end recording]

Session Examines Environment, Financial Markets

LD1002101190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] The federal government, meeting today, decided that a new measure in the energy system—announcements of energy consumption restrictions on environmental grounds—will mean that coal-fired power stations must either reduce their operational output or be partially shut down during periods of poor atmospheric dispersal conditions. At the same time, such consumption restrictions on environmental grounds should not affect supplies of heat and light to domestic consumers.

The government also decided to set up a working group to deal with the economic and environmental consequences of the stationing and departure of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia.

It also discussed Czechoslovak proposals for reforming cooperation in CEMA.

As a first step toward establishing a finance market in the longer term, the government discussed draft proposals for making use of debenture bonds to finance the development needs of organizations. It approved in principle the temporary alteration of economic commitments affecting supply organizations in the metallurgy, engineering, and electrical engineering industries and in the republican ministries of building and the construction industry.

Poll Finds Environment Concerns 'Most Urgent'

LD1202212390 Prague CTK in English 1800 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 12 (CTK)—A total of 55 per cent of 1,500 Czechoslovak respondents are of the opinion that the most urgent problem of today is the state of the environment, according to a public opinion poll which

was carried out here in January. This was announced at a press conference at the Government Presidium Office here today.

The most significant task of the federal government is the preparation for free elections and democratization of society. Economic reform is on the second place, according to the poll.

13 per cent of respondents expect considerable increase in unemployment, above all people between 30 and 40 years of age and citizens with secondary school and university education.

According to 36 per cent of respondents economic policy of the national understanding government should bring improvement of economic situation. 22 per cent have quite a different opinion. Other respondents think that the situation will be the same or voiced no opinion. The majority of people said that their families have to face a growth in the cost of living, health problems, too much work for employed married women and housing problems.

Czech Minister of Trade and Tourism Mrs Vlasta Stepanova said that broader questions of morals are being ascribed great significance in Czechoslovakia and that exclusively economic issues do not prevail. This is conditioned by the fact that the majority of respondents do not expect considerable decrease in the standard of living.

Oil Leak Causes Fire at Nuclear Power Station

LD1002235390 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2100 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Text] A breakdown in turbo-generator number 12 took place this morning at the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power station, at the V1 plant. The resulting fire was put out by the plant's fire fighting unit. Investigations have so far shown that during operation, as a result of increased vibration, the oil distribution pipe system was damaged, causing an oil leak which led to the fire. No one was injured; there were no other consequences affecting lives or health, and there was no ecological damage to the environment. The breakdown had no effect on nuclear and radiation safety.

The initial damage estimates has been set at 70,000 korunas, and output will be reduced to 50 percent at the breakdown sector until the general repairs scheduled for 25 February take place.

Official Describes Fire

LD1202163990 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] (Vaclav Urbanek), chief of the Administration for Nuclear Power Station Operation of the Federal Ministry of Fuel and Power, spoke today about details of Saturday's accident at the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power station. The oil from a cracked pipeline splashed over neighboring equipment in the engine room and smoke appeared due to the temperature. The engine room operator switched off the turbogenerator. The plant's firefighting unit took preventive action and nobody was injured. There was no oil spillage into the adjacent environment. The accident had nothing in common with a radioactive leak because similar accidents occur on this generator even in conventional power stations.

Velky Krtis Workers Strike, Demand Resignations

LD1202142190 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1130 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Summary] Almost 1000 workers of the LIAZ enterprise in Velky Krtis went on strike last Thursday. The strike continued through Friday, and four shifts were missed. If the demands of workers are not met, the strike will resume today. The staff demands the resignation of eight senior managers, including deputy directors, because of their professional incompetence and ethical failures. The director of the enterprise has no power, according to the current Labor Code, to carry out these changes himself. The staff also is concerned about the future of the enterprise, since the current work program will be finished soon and it is still not known what the enterprise will do next.

Program Addresses Future of Czechoslovak Radio

LD1102061690

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1700 GMT on 9 February in its "Civic forum" slot features a 55-minute phone-in program titled, "The Past, Present, and Future of Czechoslovak Radio: To Whom Does Czechoslovak Radio Belong?" The announcer states the subject for the phone-in was prompted by an article in the 31 January LIDOVE NOVINY.

The studio guests are Frantisek Pavlicek, the new director-general of Czechoslovak Radio; Vaclav Vrabec, director of Czechoslovak radio's central Political News and Current Affairs Department; and (?Vlado Pikavsky), a LIDOVE NOVINY editor. The presenters are not identified. Listeners were invited to phone in their questions.

The program begins with a listener's letter praising the new freedom of Czechoslovak Radio and the Civic Forum. The letter also notes, "I do not like the fact I still have not heard a fundamental apology from you for the fact that until just recently you lied to us, not only about Charter 77 and Vaclav Havel, but about everything."

In response, Pavlicek says "Unfortunately I did not catch the name of the listener who asked for an apology, but he was right to ask for it, and I am pleased to be able to say that he has already had one, in fact. Yesterday, even though I was not charged to do so by anyone, I publicly apologized on television on the basis of my own

feelings on behalf of all radio staff for the lies, disgrace, denigration and slander. I also promised there would never be any repetition of this kind of thing on the radio." Another listener phones to thank the director for his television apology, but asks what the atmosphere is like at Czechoslovak Radio now because many peole who worked there during the normalization period are still there. Pavlicek says the situation is complicated, because they want the revolution to remain a velvet one in radio too. He says compromised editors will have to answer to their colleagues for their actions over the last 20 years. Other listeners are also angry that compromised announcers and other staff are still at their posts.

The presenters and guests recall the "fantastic atmosphere" following 17 November events, when Czechoslovak Radio "woke up." They discus listeners' calls for the Civic Forum slot to include more studio debates between different political groups, not just monologues and representatives reading statements. Such debates will take on increasing importance as the election campaign gets under way. Pavlicek says he is all in favor of this.

A Moravian listener asks, "How many permanent staff does Czecoslovak Radio have? How many did it have before 17 November 1989? How many have been dismissed since then, and for what reasons?" Pavlicek answers, "I do not know the exact figures, and I do not even have to admit this because it has been declared a state secret, but I can assure you that as far as dismissals are concerned, there should have been something like fifty times more than there have been. It is actually something like one dozen people who are now looking for another job."

Questions follow about Pavlicek's earlier occupations as a scriptwriter and editor of youth programs.

A listener wants more details about the work of former Director-General Jan Risko. Pavlicek says, "Mr Risko led, well, I say 'led', but perhaps I should say 'reigned over' radio for 19 years. His political and human qualities can be documented by his Living Words talk, but perhaps most of our listeners will recall the unforgettable way in which he inscribed himself in the history of Czechoslovak politics the other day during the live relay of the Federal Assembly, when the sworn Stalinist sought to teach Czech students and Czech democratic politicians what democracy should be all about. I would rather not say anymore, but Jan Risko, in my view, is a classic example of a party bureaucrat who leaves only scorched earth in his wake, but I do not like to kick a man when he is down, as they say."

A Prague listener stresses the need for open access to the radio for different organizations, and for programs explaining the impact of new legislation. Vrabec says this is already happening, and gives examples. Another listener complains that Middle East correspondent Frantisek Prachar is anti-Semitic and files distorted reports on the Middle East situation. Vrabec says he put the issue to Pracher today, and says Pracher was hurt by the suggestion and denied it.

A listener asks whether members of the former People's Militia can remain in senior posts in Czechoslovak Radio, and is told this is "out of the question." Another listener wants to know whether the political affiliation structure of radio staff will tally with the relative popularity of different parties in society. He is told the radio must remain above the influence of any party.

More listeners, returning to the issue of why compromised staff are still in their jobs, are told that not all changes occur overnight, as the provisions of the labor code apply in radio just as elsewhere. Discussion follows, pointing out that not all who worked in radio in the last 20 years are discredited; many just kept their noses clean and got on with the job, while sympathizing with the dissident movement, and in many cases they are more tolerant than the post-17 November newcomers.

Listeners ask about Pavlicek's early political credentials. One listener asks whether radio has political censorship and is told it does not.

A listener asks why former Director-General Karel Stary was recalled. Pavlicek says Stary has been automatically proposed as someone with a good reputation, "..but he had just returned from a seven-year stint in France and the situation here caught him unaware to some extent. He was feeling his away around, but events developed so quickly and he also had to move his things back from Paris so he was away for some time, and for these reasons the decision was made that a new director-general would be proposed. Let us get it right, however: Mr Stary was not recalled. On the contrary, on account of his ability, a new center is being set up here to enable us to coordinate a whole series of fragmented functions. It is called the foreign department, which is also carrying out commercial [komercni] and instructional activity. It will compare our radio with foreign stations, organize attachments, grants and so on, and when we talked this over with him, he realized with relief that he is being given a job which is much more interesting and attractive to him."

A listener from Mlada Boleslav asks, "Are there any plans in Czechoslovakia to start up an independent radio station, and if so, when, where, and how is it going to happen?" Pavlicek answers, "I admit to you that I am afraid of such a thing. No matter how much of a democrat I am, I would nonetheless plead as long as possible for a single independent radio. What I am afraid of is that if the time comes when independent radio stations start mushrooming in this country, then what we will have is chaos. All of a sudden we will have, say, 40 independent radio stations and chaos on the airwaves. I am in favor of one or two—I do not know, even three perhaps—independent networks which are concerned first and foremost with quality. What I am afraid of is commercialism."

The presenters then wind up the program with trailers for coming civic forum events. The program is interspersed with short musical interludes and trailers for local-level Civic Forum meetings and coming events. Some questions were from letters sent in by listeners, but questions phoned in were all put to guests by the presenter.

Mohorita Discusses Past, Future of CPCZ

AU1202161890 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Feb 90 pp 1,3

[Article by Vasil Mohorita, first secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee: "A Return to the Past is Impossible"—first paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Text] Every day Vasil Mohorita, first secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, receives dozens of letters. These contain a number of questions which are often repeated in different ways. They concern the problems which Communists and the general public discuss most often in connection with the CPCZ. Despite the fact that he will answer the majority of letters personally, some questions involve really fundamental issues, and replies to these would be very extensive. Therefore, V. Mohorita asked RUDE PRAVO to publish his views on these very topics.

At our extraordinary congress we said that the CPCZ wants to become a modern, left-wing party. First of all, it is necessary to say what cannot be associated with a modern left-wing party. This issue involves some principles which, to date, have characterized the Communist Party's structure and management.

The issue primarily involved a monopoly of power by one party, a monopoly justified by its position as the vanguard of the working class. Today we know that the working class had a minimal share of real power. Today there can be no doubt that the implementation of its leading role damaged the party itself. This was also made clear at our extraordinary congress.

A series of teachings and dogmas deformed by Stalinism and detached from practice and from real life were passed off as the party's ideology. Individuals or groups in the party leadership justified their practical political steps and decisions with this "ideology."

The propagandist rather than the realistically possible aim of "representing the interests of all the people" definitely does not belong to a modern leftwing party. Experience has taught us that behind such a claim is hidden more demagoguery and attempts to conceal inherent narrow personal and group interests than ability to achieve this.

I think a modern left-wing party, if it is left wing, can hardly defend the interests of everyone.

It cannot become a caste which—with regard to class, social, weltanschauung, or other orientations—establishes a system of restrictions and barriers, and rejects anyone in advance who does not fit into its appropriate schemes. The attitude of former CPCZ leaderships toward artists and the artistic intelligentsia serve as an example of this. A result of this was that out of the party whose one-time members were outstanding scientists and artists, there evolved a party in which practically everyone who thought freely was suspected of ideological instability and unreliability. This also finally had deplorable consequences for the party.

Simply, a modern left-wing party must not fear free thinking and the free reflection and expression of views; on the contrary, it must create the necessary scope for them.

Another principle incompatible with the image of a modern left-wing party is the concept of its structure and management which we witnessed in the party's internal practice. In essence, this involved centralism where the label democratic had become a mere camouflaging attribute. In its Stalinist concept, this centralism—associated with a dubious interpretation of party discipline—became an instrument of the party leadership's literally unrestricted power. A consequence of this was, then, that party policy could only be determined at the top. The membership base mostly approved what was presented to it.

This system, termed democratic centralism, indicated the party leadership's absolute detachment from the opinions of the membership base and led to creative and ideological impotence. It made it practically impossible to influence party policy from below. This finally contributed to the crisis situation.

Whose interests, then, does a modern left-wing party defend and assert? Who is it for and who is it against?

It is indisputable that current development in the world, not excepting Czechoslovakia, is marked by a political contest between the left and the right. These two main streams are represented by a whole range of political parties and movements, from the most radical ones to those who represent the center where the borderline between left and right is, in many ways, barely perceptible. Under the specific circumstances of various countries, then, it is only a question of assuming who is considered to be a supporter of the right or the left. The question of appurtenance to this or that political and ideological stream is also very relative to this. Moreover, it is impossible to judge the left or the right only in accordance to their political and policy statements, since these do not always coincide with actually implemented policy.

We Are in Favor of Social Justice

If I had to say how I envisage a modern leftwing party, first and foremost, I would emphasize its orientation toward social justice—in the sense of the people's equal role in creating and utilizing material and spiritual values.

Of course, the people's opportunity to make decisions about their own fate is connected with this—that is, what kind of way of life and substance of life they want. In my opinion, it is the free decision of each individual how to arrange his life, his abilities, and his work. But while doing so, the rights of others to the same thing should be respected.

This means in practice, first and foremost, protecting the right to work and to just remuneration for it. At the same time, there must be a system of social certainties that will guarantee everyone the necessary minimum for life—equal and democratic access to education, quality and accessible medical care, as well as a healthy environment, corresponding public services, and so on.

Of course, it is possible to polemicize on what must be guaranteed by the state, employers, and individual citizens. In my opinion, a modern left-wing party acts as a force that asserts laws and measures guaranteeing these certainties and prevents attempts to unilaterally discriminate against some in favor of others. For instance, in our country in the very near future, the protection of entrepreneurs' interests on the one hand and the protection of employees' interests on the other will be a topical problem. This may be apparent, for example, in the government's various approaches to taxation or credit policy where it is possible to respect the interests of only one or the other party. But it is also possible to act in a way that gives satisfaction to the social certainties of working people while preserving parallel conditions for economic growth, good economic results, and enterprises' and entrepreneurs' competitive ability.

Such a modern left-wing party requires the state to establish the best conditions possible in order to increase the nation's spiritual wealth, first and foremost its education and culture; this should be for everyone.

With respect to the entrepreneurial or employers' sphere and—first of all, its relationship with the trade unions—it asserts the interests of working people, protects the corresponding conditions for their work and remuneration, and asserts an equivalent role in making decisions about an employer's most important courses of action, especially where these concern social certainties.

A modern left-wing party should affiliate people with a developed sense of social justice and democracy. It should not establish any fundamental ideological barriers on who can become a member. However, it cannot concur with extremes in any form. For example, with inhumane points of view that involve Stalinism and its offshoots.

The party's structure, just like the conditions for membership, must be very simple. The party's democratic nature must be expressed, first and foremost, by its method of voting—that is, by secret ballot—and by the possibility of elections with more than one candidate.

The party's organs and apparatus must be professionally efficient collectives where competence and actual ability will be decisive. At the same time, it must be under the genuine control of the membership base which, of course, has a right to related information.

The majority must always make decisions, while the right of the minority to retain its point of view and to have an opportunity to assert it in a democratic discussion must also be preserved.

The membership base should make decisions, in discussions, about the most important political issues affecting the whole party.

An isolated problem is the party's ideological base. I think we should continue to be a Marxist party in the broadest sense of the word. This means we will proceed from the progressive legacy of Marxist theoreticians and not just from the classics; from what Marx and his successors have left us, first and foremost, from methods of dialectic materialism.

Today what is promulgated as an "immoral" ideology and what is justly condemned—that is, the ideology according to which the former party leadership governed—has only its external jargon aspect in common with Marx. However, its completely deformed contents absolutely contradict Marxism's scientific approach. We do not have, nor do we want to have, anything in common with this "ideology."

Marxism itself contains a whole series of ideological streams, whether these concern economic, philosophical, or social science issues. In the past, many of them were regarded as deviations and so-called revisionism. Therefore, we will not be strict defenders of any kind of artificially created comprehensive ideological model. Tolerance lies in recognizing that not everyone can agree with everything; the will for a united political course of action is important.

The Left and the Right

Today, when the policy statements issued by the majority of parties and political movements concur in many ways, it is often discussed whether it is still necessary to divide them into left and right when we all have similar interests.

I think it is clear to every really contemplative person that everyone can hardly be interested in the same things. Of course, there are principles in which we all concur. For example, the need for peace, democracy, man's love for man, freedom, humanity, the observance of human rights, and so on. These are the most general desires and requirements.

The problem starts from the moment it is necessary to decide which method to choose for their implementation and which instruments to use for it. The main thing is whether under these general concepts we all envisage one and the same thing. Let me give an example: If we consider one of the fundamental rights to be the right to work, whoever sees a source of profit in a cheap labor

force—unemployment guarantees this, first and foremost—will hardly share this requirement with us. Or another example: It goes without saying that an entrepreneur will have a different view about his profits being taxed than a ordinary taxpayer, an employee. This is nothing unusual; in life, as in politics, people's interests clash and political parties, just like individuals, must be clear about whom they are against and whose interests they will assert.

Hence the division into left and right. This is nothing else, only black or white; it is the same with right and left. As a rule, democracy leads to the creation of a whole spectrum of opinions and political streams which, of course, can be more or less clearly defined. They may even merge. The current trend, in my opinion, is similarly oriented, in the end, toward an attempt to attain a society where various interests will be respected to the utmost, where their implementation will continue to be mutually dependent, and where, in the end, there will be an awareness that in order for myself to exist, I must create conditions for others to exist and compel people with various interests to negotiate. On an international scale, I would compare this to the problem of the global threats faced by mankind and which, whether we like it or not, will have to be collectively resolved with no one having the right to a veto.

This is reality and not utopian ideals. Each country and people have their own "global" problems. While resolving them, it is impossible not to respect the interests of those whom the left-wing represents. If we are talking about a democratic state, then, as we Communists have also learned, it cannot be a state of only one political bloc. A guarantee of development is always the equal engagement of various political forces.

I would summarize it this way. Meanwhile, I cannot agree that we are all interested in the same thing. But we must endeavor to ensure that the interests of us all coincide as much as possible and are implemented as such.

Apropos Changing the Party's Name

Today many people are asking: "Do you think that with the same 'outfit' you can win the people's trust?"

My opinion is as follows: Let us say that my name is Jan Dvorak and that I am clean shaven. One day I decide to completely alter myself; I change my name to Jan Novak and begin to wear a beard. But do I change as a person? Do I think I will suddenly become someone completely different? Different to people at work, to my neighbors, to friends....

We cannot flee from the past. On the contrary, the past is unforgettable. Thus, we are faced with two kinds of tasks: To indeed change, renew, and purge ourselves, and to convince the public of the sincerity of this effort. This will not happen through propaganda alone but by means of a specific policy and its results. Then let us deal with the party's name.

What Kind of Unity We Need

There are many opinions on how to renew the party. There are heated debates and, from the letters I receive, it is obvious that a pluralism of views has already become established in the party. However, it seems to some people that the CPCZ is not united. First and foremost, from the generation point of view. Old Communists are saying one thing and young Communists are saying another. I would not divide the diverse opinions which party members have on a number of issues at present into opinions held by older, younger, or the youngest Communists.

The truth is that there are diverse views and there will be diverse views; and the party, as long as it is to operate normally and soundly in the future, will have to get used to this fact. Even previously, this party was not a party of united views and its proclaimed unity was a highly dangerous fiction. Mainly because this made any kind of discussion impossible. Unity of views is nonsense; it can exist in some specific issues, but I have already said that. We must strive for unity of action. This is absolutely necessary for us, especially now before the elections.

I think it is possible, even normal, that different generations have different views on this or that matter. The situation may even arise when the interests of the generations are different and contradictory. For example, in the issue of different salaries for young and older employees. For the same kind of work the former make substantially less. If we are required to get rid of this practice, we come into conflict with the interests of older workers, to the effect that what it would be necessary to add to younger employees' salaries would have to be taken away from them. In the past, our society found itself in such absurd situations.

The interests of different generations can diverge in the community. What are we to build? An old people's home or a youth club? This is an absolutely normal situation.

Let us talk now about our party. I think it is no less normal that in many things, old Communists are saying something different from younger ones. This has always been the case and always will be; although, of course, not always and not about everything. There are matters about which our party generations will have to agree. That is, if they want to preserve the party, they have to respect and tolerate each other. If, into the bargain, they want to renew the party and give it real political strength once again, this will require everyone, young and old, to come to terms with the fact that the party cannot be, and never will be, the same as the party prior to 17 November 1989 as long as it wants to take an active part in our country's activity.

The Communist Party needs the youth. If for no other reason than because young people are not associated with the mistakes of the past, that they are strongly motivated by the desire to enter life, and to realize themselves honestly and willfully. If our party is to have

a program for the future of this country, it must be a program in which the interests of young people figure uppermost.

However, I would like to tell young people the following: It is always suspicious when someone becomes a big revolutionary overnight. Many wise people before me have said that there are young 60-year-olds and old 30-year-olds. At present, before the elections but also in the future, the party will badly need the experience of those who were doing real day-to-day political work—not from behind their desks and by means of rubber-stamps, but among the people.

What Is Socialism?

It is self-evident that we will have to become clear once again about some terms, if for no other reason than because the experience of the older and the zeal of the younger ones will not do. One such issue is the definition of the term socialism.

The practice of its building in our country, and also in other countries, has shown the theoretical concepts by which the Marxist-Leninist parties were guided in their policy to become dogmatic and deformed. This does not mean, of course, that the foundations of socialist theory devised by Marx, Engels, and Lenin were completely flawed. Moreover, the idea of socialism has been elaborated also by many other theorists, whose conclusions serve as a point of departure for a number of socialist and social democratic parties in many advanced countries of the world.

Finding a reply to the question, what is socialism in all connections, is a task for the contemporary theoretical and scientific front. I will try to specify some basic qualitative features of the socialist society.

In my opinion, it is necessary to perceive such society as a socially equitable one. I see the foundation of this social justice in eliminating the exploitation of man by man, in the creation of equal and equitable conditions for everyone as far as the distribution of social wealth is concerned. Such a society must bring everyone full civic freedom and guarantee respect for all human rights. And, most important of all, it must be a democratic society. At the same time, no ideological dogmas can serve as the yardstick of real democracy and pluralism of views in such a society, but only the citizens' actual influence on and participation in the administration of the state and decisions on social affairs, and their participation in the management of social production in such a way that it serves the genuine needs and interests of the people.

When assessing the development of our society thus far from the viewpoint of how close we came to the compliance with and fulfillment of these principles, we are forced to state that we did not get very far. The socialization of the means of production was perceived and carried out only formally as their nationalization or, in the best of cases, conversion into the cooperative form. Moreover, the principle of remuneration on the basis of the amount, quality, and social usefulness of work used to be grossly violated. The political system applied did not guarantee the genuine influence of people on the management of society.

Ultimately, the working people stopped being aware of the ownership of the means of production and ceased to believe that they were the ones to really govern this country, which they did not. State, and to a large extent also cooperative ownership of the means of production, in reality, came to be seen by our people as estranged, as the ownership of all and no one serving only bureaucratic structures and prominent state and party officials.

The socialist society should achieve a better utilization of people's social productivity, and also a higher level of utilizing social wealth, both material and intellectual [than the capitalist society]. It has become apparent, however, that this can only be achieved when the working man clearly sees a direct link between the results of his work and his share in their distribution. Essentially, all kinds of redistribution mechanisms used to stand in the way of this awareness; these mechanisms used to appropriate the results of work by some to be able to subsidize the results of work by others.

Historical development has demonstrated very graphically that the social system which was taking shape in our country during the past 40 years did not meet the expectations of people's real material and moral interest in the results of their work. The question therefore arises whether what we were trying to accomplish really was socialism, even if we take into consideration the fact that the birth of any new social order in history has always been accompanied by a number of difficulties, crises, errors, and mistakes, that history also knows a number of reversals and blind alleys, from which the newly emerging social conditions were only with difficulties looking for new, optimal ways out.

We, too, and not only we, are in my opinion now precisely at such a historic turning point. I do not see any ground for pessimism in this. I am deeply convinced that the idea of a new, socially equitable society is no utopia. There exist several roads toward its realization. Under the impact of Stalinism, we did not choose the right one. However, nothing prevents us from learning from this. The present time means not only a serious crisis for our party—in my opinion, the party has been in this crisis for many years—but also a great chance. It is up to us how we will start to use it.

Vacek, Mohorita Discuss Democratization of Army

LD1202193190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Colonel General Miroslav Vacek, minister of national defense, received today Vasil Mohorita, first secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee. They examined issues connected

with the abolition of the political apparatus and the disbanding of CPCZ organizations in the Army.

Miroslav Vacek stressed that the Czechoslovak People's Army would consistently implement the democratization of its internal life.

PAV Denounces Bratislava PRAVDA Reportage

LD0802162990 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] The Coordination Committee of Public Against Violence [PAV] has asked CTK to publish this statement:

We have to say with regret that the daily PRAVDA has unequivocally placed itself on the platform of enmity toward the movement of Public Against Violence and in the name of this attitude repeatedly departs from journalistic ethics and elementary truth.

Several journalists have shown untruth and bias toward editor Frantisek Melis in connection with the unverified publishing of an article by Mirek Tvurcan on his unsuccesssful attempt to nominate himself for a television dialogue as well as the poor and seriously distorted presentation of the speech by Jan Budaj on the alternative presidential candidature of Alexander Dubcek.

The repeated attempt at dirty and underhand denigrating of Public Against Violence took place once again in PRAVDA on 1 and 7 February.

Public Against Violence with this statement publicly asks the editorial office of PRAVDA to replace the editor in charge of reporting on the Public Against Violence movement.

RUDE PRAVO Responds to Klaus' Criticism

AU1202151690

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 8 February on page 2 carries a 250-word statement by the RUDE PRAVO editorial office, entitled "On the MLADA FRONTA Interview With V. Klaus." The statement responds to CSSR Minister of Finance Vaclav Klaus' interview which appeared in the 9 February East Europe DAILY REPORT, "Finance Minister Klaus Interviewed on Economy," in which he criticized a RUDE PRAVO article on the devaluation of the Czechoslovak koruna and RUDE PRAVO's "taking rather a long time" to publish the CSSR Finance Ministry's response. Answering Klaus' charges, RUDE PRAVO asserts that the article in question did not convey the editorial office's view but was compiled, as was explicitly stated, by the press spokesman for the Democratic Forum of Communists. It also notes that a previous RUDE PRAVO article, written by staff journalist Zdenek Hoffmann, had endorsed the devaluation, denying that it would fuel inflation. The RUDE PRAVO statement also draws attention to the fact that Deputy Finance Minister Pavelka's response to the article was published in the 31 January issue of RUDE PRAVO, immediately after its receipt, and regrets that both Minister Klaus and the MLADA FRONTA editorial office failed to "take note of this."

CPSL Denies PAV Charge of Press Monopoly

AU1202224790 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Feb 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Standpoint of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee on the Situation in the Publication of Periodical Press in Slovakia"]

[Excerpts] The situation in the publication of the periodical press in Slovakia significantly differs from that in the recent past, according to the viewpoint of both publishers and producers. Most periodicals express the entire spectrum of political views. However, in the communique of the Coordinating Committee of the Public Against Violence [PAV] movement which was made available to CTK on 1 February 1990, Jan Budaj accused the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] of maintaining a monopoly on influence and of "misinforming" the public. This accusation not only casts doubt on the nature of individual periodicals but it also calls into question other objective facts. In plant No. 02 of the PRAVDA Printing Plants, for example, the daily party press accounted for 58.7 percent of the consumption of paper for the periodical press in 1989. Through the medium of the PRAVDA Printing Plants, the periodicals VEREJNOST, NAP, and ZMENA were appropriated more than 100 tonnes from the quota allocated to the CPSL press combine PRAVDA. Moreover, the Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee has decided to surrender the status of the political publisher of regional dailies. It will inform the Slovak Socialist Republic Government about this decision and will recommend that they operate as regional dailies, respecting the broad spectrum of the views of the civic public. [passage omitted]

We resolutely reject every casting of doubt on the CPSL's efforts to use the property that has been built from membership fees over many years. [passage omitted] This is why we regard talks by Slovak Socialist Republic Government representatives about the activity of the PRAVDA press combine without the presence of representatives of the founder—that is, the CPSL Central Committee or the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, as inadmissible interference in the activity of the CPSL. The organizational structure of the combine and the subject of its activity can only be solved in harmony with the rights of the founder and must also correspond to his interests. We are ready to accept all progressive forms of business conduct (joint stock company, association, and so forth) that will expand current possibilities for the production of the periodical press in Slovakia.

Rallies Demand Information on State Security

LD1202203190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] Independent initiatives convened a rally in Wenceslas Square in Prague tonight, which demanded that light be cast on the activity of the former State Security and its functioning in cooperation with the Soviet KGB and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The rally has raised a demand addressed to the media: They should improve their reporting of the previous functioning of this department, as proposed recently by the Independent Press Center and the young people's Independent Press Agency.

A rally against the activity of State Security also took place in Ostrava. Here is Pavel Smid with more details.

[Smid] The Civic Forum Coordination Center has invited the citizens of Ostrava to Masaryk Square tonight to inform them about the functioning and practices of the now disbanded State Security, about the work of the civic defense and security commission, which has been active in Ostrava since 3 February this year. The participants of the rally heard two political prisoners from the fifties, who directly experienced the unlawful practices of the all-mighty power described as the main instrument and guard of totalitarian power. The citizens were also addressed by one of the former State Security members expelled at the beginning of the period of normalization, who spoke about the need to protect the democratic path of our republic from those, who, though not legally existing as an organization, continue to carry out their activity in a clandestine manner. Naturally, this brief meeting could not provide an answer to all questions raised by people today in connection with revealing the role of this very secretive organization. However, in its own way, it contributed to calming public opinion and to building greater trust in other National Security Corps departments.

Slovakia Anti-Czech, Anti-Semitic Feelings Noted

AU1202164990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Feb 90 p 2

[Roman Hrabovsky commentary: "Evocation of Evil Spirits"]

[Text] One of our readers, Jozef Zelinka, came running into our editorial office, incensed that in the passageway leading to F. Zupka Square in Bratislava he had seen posters with the inscriptions "Down With the Czech Socialist Republic! Slovakia for the Slovaks!" signed by the National Council for the Liberation of Slovakia Movement. Other readers have also informed us that on SNP [Slovak National Uprising] Bridge, and on Sedlarska Street, racist inscriptions—"Beware, Jew!"; "Jews to Palestine!"; "Gypsies to India, Ghettos, and Work Camps"—have appeared on walls and fences. All of this is reminiscent of the years 1938-39. Who is once more evoking evil spirits from their graves, evil spirits for whom the bell tolled long ago at the Nuremberg trials?

Provocative pamphlets are also reaching us from abroad, pamphlets whose authors speak on behalf of "God and country" and appeal for a struggle for "the liberation of Slovakia from Czech occupiers and the communist totalitarian system." According to them, included among the pantheon of Slovak nationalists and patriots—apart from General Milan R. Stefanik, who, to a substantial degree, deserves merit for founding the Czech Socialist Republic—is the war criminal Jozef Tiso, who, along with Henlein's supporters, split the country apart. Immediately next to him is Vladimir Clementis (whose name was spelled on the poster with a K), who, at the beginning of the 1930's, warned of the threat of fascism and later devoted all of his activity to the struggle against its clerical offshoot in Slovakia and to the struggle for the renewal of a joint state with the Czech nation.

The declaration of some kind of National Council for the Liberation of Slovakia, under the guise of the Helsinki Final Act, releases bilious bubbles of separatism and chauvinism and in a strange interpolation it calls for the end of Czech domination because "Slovaks can live with Czechs in peace, friendship, and cooperation as two free sovereign states—never, however, in a joint state!" This is, undoubtedly, an interesting contribution from some emigre circles toward constructing a common European home, something to which they merely refer in passing.

Parliamentary Committees Debate New Bills

LD1202133390 Prague CTK in English 1255 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 12 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Parliament committees today started discussing new bills which have been inspired by the quick development in the country heading for pluralist democracy and the market economy.

Since last November the composition of the Federal Assembly, Czechoslovakia's supreme legislative body, has changed, in accord with changes in the alignment of political forces, in such a way that the Czechoslovak Communist Party lost the majority last January. Now it occupies 40 per cent of seats while independent deputies have an absolute majority in the 350-member parliament, totalling 150.

In each of the parliament's two chambers—the House of the People and the House of Nations—deputies are divided into ten committees which focus on problems in various spheres of the country's economic and social life. In the next ten days, all the committees will gradually hold their meetings in Prague to make preparations for the forthcoming plenary session of the Federal Assembly due to be held by the end of this month.

The committees will discuss mainly the constitutional bills originating in Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel's initiative submitted to the parliament last January concerning the change of the official name of the Czechoslovak state and its two state symbols. The first bill provides for dropping the word socialist from its

present name—the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic which has been used since 1960. The state would thus return to its former name, the Czechoslovak Republic, which it was given in the year of its foundation in 1918. The bill on the state symbols also provides for returning to the traditional symbols and at the same time for complying with conditions of the republic's federative set-up valid since 1968.

In the nearest future, the parliament committees will also discuss bills on association in social organizations, a bill on assembly, and on petition as well as a constitutional bill on ending the election term of legislative bodies. These bills are closely connected with preparations for free general elections declared for June 8.

Former Government on Semtex Exports

PM1202181090 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 10 Feb 90 p 9

[Frances Harris dispatch: "Czechs Lied to Britain Over Semtex After Lockerbie"]

[Text] Prague—The ousted Czech government lied to Britain after the Lockerbie disaster about when it halted sales of Semtex explosives, it was disclosed yesterday.

Mr Jiri Novi, Semtex factory director, said sales of the almost undetectable explosive continued until 1988—the year Pan AM Flight 103 was destroyed—despite a formal Czech assurance to Britain that exports were halted in 1982.

Following the Lockerbie bombing, a team of Czech explosives experts visited London at Britain's invitation to discuss means of chemically marking Semtex.

At that time, British officials said: "We accept the Czechoslovak government's assurance that they do not export explosives to terrorists. We understand that they no longer export Semtex, and have not done so since 1982."

But Mr Novi said sales continued to Comecon countries until the year of the Lockerbie bombing: "The last export to non-Comecon countries took place in 1981; the last export to Comecon nations in 1988."

He added that two countries took supplies in those seven years, but refused to name them.

The revelation was all the more baffling because Czechoslovakia's Communists have failed to reveal whether they supplied terrorist quatermasters such as Libya direct.

Mr Novi and his senior managers hinted that Libya got supplies from a third party. The new information means anti-terrorist squads in the West may have to revise their estimates of the quantities in terrorist hands.

For the first time, Mr Novi disclosed production figures for the plastic explosive favoured by the IRA and Arab terrorists. The Synthesia factory in the village of Semtin makes 100 tons a year.

The explosive was designed for industrial use, but its power, malleability and ability to pass airport security checks make it a terrorist favourite. Semtex has been produced at the site for over more than 20 years.

Mr Novi said morale at the 9,500-worker plant dipped after Lockerbie.

A Foreign Office spokesman confirmed yesterday that Britain had received assurances in 1989 that Czechoslovakia had ceased to export Semtex in 1982. "We have seen reports that exports continued until 1988 and we are seeking clarifications," he added.

Commission Calls for Dissolution of Press Agency

LD1202193990 Prague CTK in English 1706 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 12 (CTK)—In the new Czechoslovak conditions the existence of the Federal Office for Press and Information (FUTI) is ungrounded as it is at variance with the principles of democracy and freedom of press and information, a mass media commission set up to work out a concept for a state information body said in its statement for CTK today.

The dissolution of FUTI can in no case be postponed till the foundation of a new information body, the commission stressed.

The Federal Office for Press and Information was established in consequence of the 1968 occupation as an instrument of normalization in press and mass communication media serving exclusively the power aims of the Communist Party Central Committee and the Federal Ministry of the Interior. The whole FUTI system served the repressive and disinformation functions of state mechanism, the commission pointed out in its statement.

Newly Elected Federal Assembly Deputies

AU0802153090 Prague PRACE in Czech 31 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "New Federal Assembly Chamber of People and Chamber of Nations Deputies" elected at the 30 January Federal Assembly session]

[Text] Chamber of People:

Jan Vacha, Prague 3, Czechoslovak People's Party
Emanuel Mandler, Prague 4, Czechoslovak Democratic Initiative
Bohumil Dolezal, Prague 6, Czechoslovak Democratic Initiative
Vasil Mohorita, Prague 7, 8, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ]
Rudolf Battek, Prague 8, 9, Czechoslovak Social Democracy

Ivan Fisera, Prague 4-South, without party affiliation
Zdenek Masopust, Beroun, CPCZ
Jiri Sasek, Plzen 11, without party affiliation
Martin Palous, Karlovy Vary-Sokolov, without party affiliation
Jindrich Konecny, Karlovy Vary, without party affiliation
Jiri Stancl, Klatovy, Christian Democratic Party
Zdenek Krivsky, Usti nad Labem, without party affiliation
Josef Macek, Ceska Lipa, Czechoslovak People's Party
Petr Toman, Chomutov, without party affiliation
Petr Cermak, Liberec, without party affilation
Karel Novosad, Louny, without party affiliation
Miloslav Soldat, Most-South, without party affiliation
Leo Dvorak, Teplice-East, without party affiliation
Oldrich Kuzilek, Hradec Kralove, without party affiliation
Vladimir Tolar, Jicin, CPCZ
Jana Petrova, Rychnov nad Kneznou, without party affiliation
Petr Kucera, Semily, Czechoslovak Socialist Party
Jaromir Gebas, Trutnov, CPCZ
Miroslav Tera, Dvur Kralove, Czechoslovak People's Party
Lubos Spata, Usti nad Orlici, without party affiliation
Jiri Musilek, Ceska Trebova, without party affiliation
Michal Dymacek, Brno-City, without party affiliation
Vlastimil Sehnal, Blanik District, without party affiliation
Veroslav Slama, Brno-Environs, without party affiliation
Albert Cerny, Zlin, Czechoslovak Social Democracy
Jaroslav Ruzicka, Hodonin, without party affiliation
Zdenek Jaron, Kromeriz, without party affiliation
Bohumil Janca, Vyskov, without party affiliation
Miroslav Grebenicek, Znojmo-Breclav, CPCZ
Vladimir Turek, Znojmo, without party affiliation
Pavel Svitil, Zdar nad Sazavou, without party affiliation
Lubomir Zaoralek, Ostrava IV, without party affiliation
Vladimir Fojtik, Orlova, without party affiliation
Jaromir Piskor, Opava, without party affiliation
Miroslav Macek, Sumperk, without party affiliation
Jan Langos, Nove Mesto, without party affiliation
Milan Sutovec, Karlova Ves, without party affiliation
Ernest Valko, Petrzalka, without party affiliation
Petr Zeman, Stupava, without party affiliation
Eleonora Sandrova, Galanta, Hungarian Independent Intitiative
Ladislav Vrba, Sered, Freedom Party
Oszkar Vilagi, Komarno, without party affiliation
Karol Hranai, Levice, Democratic Party
Pavel Sremer, Zbehy, Green Party;
Pavol Bolgavy, Senica, without party affiliation
Ludovit Baldovsky, Sastin, Freedom Party
Julius Minka, Trencin, without party affiliation
Anton Juris, Trnava, without party affiliation
Stefan Kovac, Banska Bystrica, without party affiliation
Dusan Macuska, Lucenec, without party affiliation
Miroslav Tahy, Martin, without party affiliation
Michal Geci, Turcanske Teplice, Democratic Party
Pavol Kanis, Povazska Bystrica, CPCZ
Rudolf Filkus, Zvolen, without party affiliation
Alfred Hasko, Banska Stiavnica, without party affiliation
Karol Honner, Zilina, without party affiliation
Jozef Habovstiak, Bardejov, without party affiliation
Jozef Baksay, Kosice IV, without party affiliation
Ivan Marton, Kezmarok, without party affiliation
Vladimir Klimes, Poprad, without party affiliation
Jozef Jankovic, Vranov nad Toplou, without party affiliation
Michal Maly, Most-Chomutov, without party affiliation.
Chamber of Nations:

Dana Nemcova, Prague 1, 2, 7, without party affiliation
Petr Pithart, Prague 4, without party affiliation
Milos Zeman, Prague 3, 10, without party affiliation
Pavel Murasko, Prague 6, without party affiliation
Miroslav Lajkep, Benesov, Czechoslovak People's Party
Miroslav Rocek, Kladno, without party affiliation
Herman Chromy, Melnik, without party affiliation
Vaclav Vokal, Cesky Krumlov, without party affiliation
Jaroslav Cuhra, Plzen, Czechoslovak People's Party
Jan Hadrava, Karlovy Vary, without party affiliation
Vojtech Deyl, Liberec, Ceska Lipa, without party affiliation
Milan Hruska, Nachod, without party affiliation
Miroslav Sychra, Svitavy, without party affiliation
Josef Lux, Usti nad Orlici, Czechoslovak People's Party
Jaroslav Meznik, Brno-City, Czechoslovak Social Democracy
Jaroslav Hladik, Breclav, without party affiliation
Milan Andrysek, Zlin, Czechoslovak People's Party
Jan Svoboda, Zdar nad Sazavou, without party affiliation
Jiri Machalik, Sumperk, CPCZ
Josef Fabian, Vsetin, without party affiliation
Jozef Kucerak, Sered, without party affiliation
Gyula Popaly, Sala, without party affiliation
Miklos Duray, Komarno, without party affiliation
Zsuzsa Nemethova, Zeliezovce, without party affiliation
Ivo Novak, Zbehy, without party affiliation
Peter Orban, Zlate Moravce, without party affiliation
Magdalena Kacicova, Senica, without party affiliation
Karol Seman, Sastin- Straze, without party affiliation
Mojmir Kovar, Partizanske, without party affiliation
Juraj Holcik, Topolcany, without party affiliation
Pavol Suchan, Trencin, without party affiliation
Marian Posluch, Jaslovska Bohunice, without party affiliation
Pavol Hrusovsky, Piestany, Freedom Party
Frantisek Salka, Namestovo, without party affiliation
Alojz Duha, Ruzomberok, without party affiliation
Stefan Glezgo, Rimavska Sobota, without party affiliation
Martin Kontra, Bardejov, without party affiliation
Peter Rasev, Kosice IV, without party affiliation
Jozef Olej, Kosice, CPCZ
Zdenek Cervenka, Michalovce, without party affiliation
Peter Kulan, Stara Lubovna, without party affiliation

Roman Zelenay, Vranov nad Toplou, without party affiliation
Igor Micieta, Bratislava-Petrzalka, Freedom Party
Jaroslav Lentvorsky, Velky Krtis, Freedom Party
Vladimir Janocko, Bohdanovce, Democratic Party

More on Federal Assembly Appointments

AU0802155390 Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 31 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "Joint Meeting of Both Federal Assembly Chambers"]

[Excerpts] Prague— The reconstruction of Chamber of Nations bodies and the complementing of the chamber with new deputies were on the agenda of yesterday's meeting of the Chamber of Nations. [passage omitted] The meeting appointed the following Chamber of Nations deputies to the Federal Assembly Presidium: Ladislav Lis (without party affiliation), Igor Micieta (Freedom Party), Vladimir Mikula (without political affiliation), Drahoslav Krenek (Communist Party of Czechoslovakia) [CPCZ], and Petr Pithart (without political affiliation).

Jozef Kucerak (without political affiliation) was elected member of the Chamber of Nations Presidium. The meeting also elected chairmen of Chamber of Nations committees. [passage omitted]

The Federal Assembly's People's Chamber also held a meeting in Prague yesterday. [passage omitted] It elected deputies Vaclav Benda (Christian Democratic Party), Jan Langos (without political affiliation), Vasil Mohorita (CPCZ), and Jaroslav Sabata (without political affiliation) as members of the CSSR Federal Assembly Presidium on behalf of the People's Chamber. Jan Langos and Jana Moltasova (CPCZ) became deputy chairmen of the People's Chamber and Oldriska Mikundova (Czechoslovak Socialist Party) and Jaroslav Sabata were elected members of the People's Chamber Presidium.

The deputies also elected chairmen and new members of People's Chamber committees.

Modrow Delegation Travels to Bonn for Visit

LD1302100590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0857 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—Hans Modrow and the members of his cabinet have traveled on from Cologne/Bonn Airport to Bonn in helicopters of the Federal Border Protection Force. The premier's delegation includes Christa Luft [deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers for economy]; Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil; Construction Minister Gerhard Baumgaertel; Tourism Minister Bruno Benthien; Light Industry Minister Guenter Halm; Agriculture Minister Hans Watzek; and Ministers Without Portfolio Tatjana Boehm from the Independent Women's Association, Rainer Eppelmann from Democratic Awakening, Sebastian Pflugbeil from New Forum, Mathias Platzek from the Green Party, Gerd Poppe from the Peace and Human Rights Initiative, Walter Romberg from the SDP [Social Democratic Party], Klaus Schlueter from the Green League, and Wolfgang Ullmann from Democracy Now; and government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer. The delegation also includes State Secretary Herbert Krolikowski, first deputy GDR foreign minister, and the permanent representative of the GDR in the FRG, Horst Neubauer.

Modrow's arrival received great attention from the international press. A red carpet was laid out in honor of the guest.

Modrow Arrives in Bonn

LD1302085190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0832 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—GDR Premier Hans Modrow arrived in Bonn this morning for a two-day working visit.

Modrow and the ministers and experts accompanying him were welcomed at Cologne-Bonn Airport of Wahn by Heinrich Seemann, the Federal Republic's acting head of protocol.

Rapid Monetary Union Rejected

LD1302091790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0907 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Bonn (ADN)—GDR Premier Hans Modrow rejects rapid monetary union with the FRG. Immediately upon his arrival at Cologne-Bonn Airport, he said today that a monetary union cannot be agreed upon because the GDR roundtable has not approved this. [passage omitted]

Kohl Welcomes Modrow

LD1302093790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0911 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Bonn (ADN)—Premier Hans Modrow was welcomed outside the Chancellory in Bonn by Helmut Kohl at 1000 today. Several hundred journalists witnessed the ceremony. Helmut Kohl then led his guest into the Chancellory building.

The helicopters carrying the members of the GDR Government had landed a few minutes earlier by the Suedbruecke in the Bonn government quarter. The delegation traveled on to the Chancellory in a convoy of cars with a motorcycle escort. [passage omitted]

Private Talks With Kohl

LD1302101790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0933 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—GDR Premier Hans Modrow and FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl are currently holding talks alone together in the chancellor's office.

Many journalists from all round the world are awaiting with great interest the end of this meeting, which is scheduled to last about an hour, and is then to be followed by an expanded round of talks with members of government from both sides.

Modrow Briefs Journalists

LD1302121690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1113 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—Following their private talks together in the Bonn Chancellory today, to which the closest advisers of the two statesmen were at times brought in, GDR Premier Hans Modrow and FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl met for joint talks with the remaining members of their delegations in the NATO hall.

Hans Modrow told journalists after the private talk with the chancellor that it took place in a businesslike atmosphere. Several interesting projects, which were on the table, were discussed. However, so far nothing has been firmly decided. There are no results as yet. Possible results would be decided in the next hour in the extended meeting of the two delegations. Hans Modrow said he hopes urgently that there will be positive results for both sides. He stressed that he is aware of his responsibility.

Chancellory Minister Seiters confirmed that the private talks took place in an open and good atmosphere. The FRG Government is interested in the GDR's stability. It is now up to the negotiating partners to set the right signals.

GDR Deputy Premier Christa Luft, who met with Federal Economics Minister Helmut Haussmann for talks, told correspondents that she had given a briefing on the GDR's many plans for reform in the economic field during the round of talks. The many steps taken by the GDR in order to accommodate the FRG over the past few months were mentioned. In response to a journalist's question on whether the decision by the GDR's roundtable had caused the talks to be strained, Mrs. Luft replied that the opposite was the case.

It has also become known from conference circles that the solidarity contribution amounting to between DM10 and 15 billion demanded by the roundtable had also played a role in the talks. The great complexity of this step was pointed out particularly in the context of questions and problems of monetary union.

It was suggested that experts should negotiate detailed steps for a monetary union. The GDR's demand, supported by the roundtable, that there must be a guarantee of social security as part of economic and monetary union also played a large role.

Gorbachev Briefs Modrow on Kohl Talks

LD1202162690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1530 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Soviet party and state leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, today informed GDR Premier Hans Modrow by telephone about his talks with FRG Chancellor Kohl in Moscow on Saturday, the government's press and information service reported to ADN. Gorbachev stressed that in speaking to the chancellor he had emphasized the USSR's view that history must determine future developments in Germany. This could be quicker than assumed.

The fact is that there exist two states in Germany that could decide through self-determination on the forms, timeframes, and approaches in further fashioning the processes in Germany. Gorbachev also pointed out that apart from the process of rapprochement, the Four Powers' rights and responsiblity and the interests of the other European states must be taken into account. Therefore, the Germans should show responsiblity in making clear that they have learned lessons from history. The frontiers must remain inviolable. Questions of military structures and political status can only be solved through gradual transition.

Gorbachev explained in his telephone conversation that he had pointed out to Chancellor Kohl that the GDR and the FRG are important economic trading partners for the USSR and that this point of view must also be noted in bilateral relations. He had told his partner in the talks that it is not acceptable for a united Germany to remain in the structure of NATO.

CDU Chairman Hails Kohl-Gorbachev Meeting

LD1202193690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1612 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The chairman of the GDR CDU [Christian Democratic Union], Lothar de Maiziere, has expressly welcomed the results of the talks in Moscow between Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and General Secretary Gorbachev. In a statement published on Monday, he said that they were a decisive step toward German unity. "The recognition of the right of the German people to decide on the timing and method of its state unity is of historic importance. Now it is up to us to act responsibly, without hesitation, but also without exaggerated haste," the CDU chairman said. In so doing, the realities of the postwar European order mut be taken into consideration.

USSR's Falin on German Question

AU1202142890 East Belin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Feb 90 p 6

[Interview with Valentin Falin, head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, by Rolf Guenther in Berlin on 8 February: "Balance of Security—Core of the German Question"]

[Text] [Guenther] Comrade Falin, the German question has recently emerged at the top of the agenda of international politics. Are you, as an expert on Germany, surprised by this dynamism?

[Falin] If we think in the long term, it was only a question of time when the hour would come. It has always been clear that a situation has to be brought about where the people do not carry the burdens of the past anymore, despite all developments during and after the war, where they finally feel that the time of peace has come, and everyone has the right to enjoy the fruits of this time.

Basically, this was clear on the day the Basic Treaty was signed between the GDR and the FRG in 1973. But I think that in the GDR, this treaty was implemented in such a restrictive way that the chances that existed for renewing the relation: between the two German states and that existed in the GDR itself could not be used in the optimum form, if at all. Many things can be explained by this, and this created this excessive pressure in the end.

What Caused the New Development?

What caused today's development? I think it is the overall restructuring of international relations. The policy of strength is dying in the long run. Today the factor of force does not play the role in international relations that it played 15, 20, or 30 years ago. And here in Europe, force is to be made impossible for all times, otherwise our continent does not have any future, any chance.

If we think in this way, we need such a stable and still-dynamic development that offers more security, more trust, and more prosperity with every step to all people, regardless of their nationality.

If we assess today's events from this viewpoint, then this is not a danger but a good chance. If all of Europe and all of Germany become a factor of stability, neither the Germans nor all nations in Europe, including the Soviet Union, can reject such a development, in my view.

Thus, the credibility of any policy at present is measured by the extent to which the declarations and the assurances, which are so abundant today, really bring about the renewal of state philosophy, including the military one.

[Guenther] The position of the USSR on German unity has undergone a fundamental change in many people's opinion....

[Falin] Change in which respect? If you mean tactical changes....

[Guenther] For instance, concerning the time frame....

[Falin] Comrade Gorbachev has already given a specific answer to this. What was rather a political question for us, and also for the Western powers and the Germans themselves, a few months ago has today become a question of practical policy. We, as a sober and responsible power, which is acting in a balanced way, should take note of this and draw conclusions from this new objectiveness. And these conclusion have been drawn.

[Guenther] The Soviet Union has important legitimate interests concerning the solution of the German question....

[Falin] World War II cost us more than 26 million dead, and that is only the dead. This tragedy will never be forgotten in the Soviet Union. If someone thinks differently, he does not understand the significance of what happened at that time. But—and this is a national characteristic of the Russians—we are not geared to revenge. We have never thought in this way. We have never acted in this way in politics.

Unfortunately, many things have been forgotten, in particular by the public, namely that the first of our proposals after the war were: all-German administration, all-Germany economy, all-German parties, trade unions, and other such democratic institutions that should and could make sure that this country develops in a uniform and homogeneous way and as a democratic country. What was the answer by the French, the Americans, or the British? A clear "no." This was the logic of confrontation, a logic of a battle to the death. And this logic distorted many things—if not everything—in the development.

What do we want today? Our proposal that all foreign troops should leave the states where they are stationed is still valid. We in the Soviet Union do not need a military presence either in a Germany of two states or in a united Germany. The presence of such troops is a remnant of the cold war. Time is working against this old way of military thinking.

Until now, the balance of security is the main issue of the German question, not so much the state form of unification. The decisive thing is to what extent this process for reunification or new unification is compatible with the security interests of all nations in Europe, including the security interests of the Germans themselves.

The answer to this question simultaneously is the answer to the question of whether one wants this unity or not. Those who are against the balance in security questions are against German unity because they are against partnership concerning security questions in Europe. Without this partnership in security issues, a pan-European home and a pan-European peace system will be impossible.

The Important Things Are the Real Goals, Not Slogans

With regard to how the goals will finally be reached, which steps one needs, and in which forms this will be done, we are very flexible and ready for consensus. But we do not want that the territory of the two German states or of the united Germany is exploited for military goals, for goals involving military attacks, even if they are presented as goals involving defense toward the outside. We do not need abstract legal guarantees, but guarantees as the United States, France, and Great Britain claim for their own security.

[Guenther] On the topic of guarantees for security. Western politicians are currently broaching many ideas concerning the place of a united Germany in Europe's military-political structure: Full membership in NATO or four-power status of the GDR territory and others....

[Falin] Yes, such plans are discussed. Some plans seem to be the products of thoughts during former "cold" epochs. But we know precisely where there is interest in jointly having a common quality of security in the common home or whether goals are to be achieved directly or indirectly, which practically were the goals of the cold war. The important things are the real goals, not the words. By the way: Some slogans today are intended to impress the masses in this situation, in particular the demonstrators in the streets.

[Guenther] How do you think one can ensure that the movement toward a secure common European home and toward Germany unity take place in a synchronous way and not against each other?

[Falin] This is precisely the central idea. One needs this synchronization so that the Germans do not have natural strivings to overcome the remnants of this tragic event—in particular as regards human relations—in contradiction to the basic trend of the European development. But this need not be understood in such a literal way: First one step here, then one step there. One can imagine that steps in the German area entail European development, because Germany's example is of particular significance for the entire European development. If such a step in the German area is positive and constructive in this sense, then the Soviet Government, the CPSU, would welcome it. But if it is based on narrow, national, that is, nationalist, values—in contrast to European interests—this would worry not only the Soviet Union but also other states in Europe.

Both German states can give strong stimuli to the all-European development. On their territories are

nuclear weapons with a great destructive power. If the situation has changed in this way—what do we need them for?

If here in Germany, on the territory of the two German states, there are no potentials for wars of destruction, the climate in Europe will be much more favorable for the individuals and for the peoples.

[Guenther] One word on Modrow's concept. In fact, it is surprising that the Western side has so vehemently rejected the idea of neutrality for a future united German state—which was intended as a premise for discussion.

[Falin] Modrow's concept is a very serious basis for serious thought—in the West and the East. Not everything in this concept is very clear for us; we have certain nuances, and Comrade Shevardnadze has expressed this. But this precipitate reaction in the West is a sign for me that, as in the past, the politicians there are unwilling to respect the interests of the other nations and states in the necessary way.

The Responsibility of the Four Powers Exists

My personal expression is: The reasons for this reaction are not so much political considerations but, much more, military ones. If one approached the problem in a political way, one would have to note that, on principle, national armed forces will not be necessary in the long run.

[Guenther] Are their any contacts and discussions about the developments in the German question among the four victorious powers of World War II?

[Falin] There are bilateral contacts. At the moment, Mr. Baker is in Moscow, and this topic has not been excluded. We are in contact with President Mitterrand and Mrs. Thatcher. This is normal. Because the postwar chapter is not over, a peace treaty has not been signed. The responsibility exists; it is the currently valid law. Therefore, we need agreement in order to at least try to prevent wrong developments that might lead to dangerous complications later on. We need that, above all, so as to make sure that the entire development between the two German states in the center of Europe is in harmony with the development in the larger geographic and social framework, in the—if you like—constellations of West-East, North-South. Everything must be used that enables us to make good steps forward.

CPSU Changes 'Determined Step Forward'

AU1302094590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Feb 90 p 2

[Editorial by Frank Wehner, Moscow: "Farewell to the Monopoly on Power"]

[Text] Since 7 February, the CPSU monopoly on power has practically ceased to exist. The party itself, the latest decision of the latest Central Committee Plenum says, will submit a motion to amend Article 6 of the Constitution, which attests that it alone controls the system and the entire creative work of the Soviet people.

The path to this decision was not an easy one. At the end of last year, the Supreme Soviet still refused to discuss this article at the congress of people's deputies. Even in the first edition of the draft of the party congress platform, there were only nebulous indications. At the plenum, the discussion on this question was heated and controversial. The advocates of a consistent restructuring of the party and the society won.

A new determination of the CPSU's position had become unavoidable. Even without constitutional legalization, a multiparty system is already evolving. In Latvia and Lithuania, for instance, where the republic parliaments have already abolished the leading role from the Constitution, the first new parties have already been founded. Even within the CPSU there is such a broad range of opinions that it is difficult to say whether Gorbachev, some representatives of the newly formed "democratic platform," or the dogmatic and, in addition, anti-Semitic Nina Andreyeva, whose infamous article on principles delighted the old leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany so much at the time, are still supporters of one and the same party.

However, the renunciation of the monopoly on power is by no means just a recognition of the inevitable. I see it as a determined step forward in order to provide new strength to perestroyka at a critical stage. The farewell to Article 6 will probably be difficult for those, above all, who love the comfort of legally sanctioned authority and have long given up on believing in the success of perestroyka—if they ever believed it. To all others, the project of the platform, which contains numerous other items in addition to the passage on Article 6, provides the tools to overcome resistance, to act against disappointment and incipient apathy in the party, and to ensure true authority, which only develops in democratic competition.

The CPSU is facing a difficult test in the emerging new stage of its development: It must really implement a phrase, which in 1977 was included in Article 6 only as a fine-sounding attribute: The CPSU is there for the people and serves the people.

Fischer Speaks on European Security in Ottawa

LD1202233390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2243 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Ottawa (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, who spoke on 12 February because the program was altered, spoke in favor of a European security community, a stable and treaty-based community, which is in the elementary interests of both German states. "Their growing together in the exercise of the Germans' right to self-determination, in cooperation with the Four Powers and taking into account the interests of all European states must fit itself into this process," the

minister said. Even if there are still no final models for the future role of the Germans, a series of maxims of military and security policy can be considered. The armed forces of both German states should be directed consistently and exclusively to defense capability. The renunciation of the possession of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons, as proposed by FRG Foreign Minister Genscher, can also be a part of this. Oskar Fischer proposed to extend this obligation to a ban on the storage of these weapons on German soil.

The military potentials should be further reduced as a result of negotiations and by means of unilateral steps. Both German states, the GDR foreign minister said, could intercede for the stage-by- stage withdrawal of foreign armed forces from their territories, could support the reduction of the military potential of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and could break away step by step from their military alliance obligations.

Fischer at Open Skies Conference

LD1202235690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2313 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Ottawa (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer spoke on 12 February at the "Open Skies" conference in Ottawa in favor of a European security community, a stable and treaty-based community, which is in the elemntary interests of both German states. [passage omitted]

In the view of Oskar Fischer, a bridging function between the blocs would suit the Germans well. The CSCE summit meeting, which is being sought, could provide the framework for this. This latter should exist soon and work "at the same time as a guarantee of democracy and stability against a weight potentially growing out of one German state." The minister assured the conference participants that the GDR Government would do everything to work against the instability in its own country spilling over onto the CSCE process and the disarmament negotiations. One wanted to strengthen reasonable, balanced, and dignified action in the face of continual destabilization in the GDR, which cannot seek out its politically and militarily sensitive position, and in the face of increasing nationalist and neo-Nazi phenomena.

In connection with the concept of "Open Skies," the minister said the GDR is, as a transit and tourist country with three allied air corridors and an international air route, as well as allied military missions, a transparent country whether it wants to be or not, and wishes to remain so. The GDR expects from an agreement a guarantee of equal participation by all partner states and foresees a cooperative approach, as well as the further use of the observation results. Oskar Fischer stated that the initiative of U.S. President George Bush, which had been meritoriously taken up by the Canadian Government, is in keeping with the times.

Meets UK, Frenci. Officials

LD1302101590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0709 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Ottawa (ADN)—The foreign ministers of Great Britain and France have told their opposite number from the GDR that the Germans should take up their right to self-determination while taking into account their neighbors legitimate interests. Douglas Hurd and Roland Dumas, who met Oskar Fischer yesterday on the fringes of the "Open Skies" conference in Ottawa, expressed their concern at the continuing detabilization of the situation in the in the GDR. They expressed the expectation that the parliamentary elections in the GDR on 18 March will take place in an atmosphere conducive to them, as they are important for future developmetns.

Dumas expressed his sympathy toward the suggested meeting between the two German states and the four victorious powers of World War II. [passage omitted]

Modrow Plans Working Visit to Warsaw 16 Feb

LD1202225790 Hamburg DPA in German 1857 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow is expected in Warsaw for a one-day working visit on 16 February. According to information from the Polish Foreign Ministry, he will speak with government leader Tadeusz Mazowiecki and head of state Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Modrow is also planning talks with the leader of the Solidarity trade union, Lech Walesa, and a representative of the Episcopate of the Catholic Church. It is expected in Warsaw that the talks will focus on the question of German unification and on Modrow's visit to Bonn, which will precede his arrival in Warsaw.

Spokesman Denies FRG Offer on Monetary Union

LD1202153190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1441 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Government has "up to this hour" neither an official paper nor a personal message from the federal chancellor on the considerations by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl about a monetary union of the two German states or specific steps considered by the federal government. This was stated by government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer on 12 February as a result of inquiries from several media editorial offices. Meyer said that the GDR Government has no choice but to "note this with a certain amount of astonishment." So far, the GDR Council of Ministers has learned of the chancellor's considerations only from the media.

In contrast to the Modrow government, which presented its conception for a treaty-based community of the two

German states to the Federal Government as a negotiation concept and, by the way, is still awaiting a reply, the federal chancellor preferred to address the public with his proposals. The negotiating partner, the GDR Government, has been in no way informed, let alone consulted. Such conduct, in the view of the GDR, does not meet the historic responsibility to which the two governments should feel themselves committed before the German people and the European process of detente, Meyer said.

On the eve of the Bonn visit by GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow, it should be stated clearly that the GDR head of government and his entourage will be traveling to the federal capital with the declared intention and also the votes of the roundtable to do, with political common sense, everything that will benefit the peoples in the two German states and the European peoples and to desist from everything that will lead to an emotionally charged exacerbation of the problems that will strain not only the two German states but also developments in Europe overall.

Government spokesman Meyer underlined that the bogus reports disseminated by authoritative Bonn sources in the last few days about a GDR soon to be insolvent and other fanciful reports "have given rise to the suspicion among the GDR population that Bonn is intent on bringing about an uncontrolled acceleration of the unification process in order to create in this way conditions for a speedy takeover."

Prime Minister Modrow is not the least interested in guaranteeing the justified demands of GDR citizens for the social safeguarding of their living conditions in a future united Germany. This requires circumspection and decisions that are well-considered and made by both sides. The conception "for Germany, united fatherland" remains on the agenda as an offer for a responsible dialogue to determine the requisite steps on the path of unification of the two German states in today's frontiers.

Trade Rules With FRG 'Not Confirmed'

LD1202202490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1912 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The changed rules for trade between the FRG and Berlin (West) and the GDR, announced by West Berlin Economic Affairs Senator Dr, Peter Mitzscherlich today, according to which all trade conducted until now in units of account may now also be conducted in Deutsche marks, were not confirmed to ADN by the GDR Foreign Trade Ministry. [passage omitted]

In reply to a question, the economic affairs senator said that the unilateral laying down of these rules was, it was true, "not in line with customary practice," but it did not require the assent of the GDR, which had received a communication about the matter. He conceded that this arrangement "would have some considerable consequences." In many small craft and trade businesses, including some in Berlin (West), there is at the moment a worry that this would create additional competition in the city, which would put some out of business. On the other hand, one would have to expect "shortfalls in the GDR service industry."

However, food supplies in the GDR would not be affected, as the EC regulations did not permit greater imports of food by the FRG or Berlin (West). The COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] list, which prevents the export of certain goods to the GDR and other socialist countries, would not be affected by the new rules.

East, West Berlin Police Agree on Cooperation

LD1202190190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1819 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The police presidents of both parts of Berlin reached an agreement in the GDR capital on 12 February on their future cooperation in averting dangers and the pursuit of crime. Both sides agreed, apart from further meetings—the next is to take place in March—to name two members of the police force on each side as permanent contacts.

After their first meeting, the People's Police president of Berlin, Major General Dirk Bachmann, and the police president of Berlin (West), Georg Schertz, held a news conference in the GDR capital's police headquarters. The very open and frank discussion was marked by concreteness and constructiveness, said Bachmann, expressing "great pleasure and satisfaction" about the results of the meeting. On both sides of the frontier, there is a need to act to protect citizens from disruption and danger. Thus there was also discussion of order and security at events near the frontier and on the urban and underground railways, as well as about defense against militant attacks. Asked about the Republicans, he replied that at present there is no evidence of activities on the GDR side, "but we are very vigilant." Moreover, there will be an exchange of information on this topic.

Irrespective of the lack of a judicial aid agreement and problems relating to data protection, he sees opportunities for cooperation in many spheres of police work, Schertz said. As long as there are no legal obstacles, it is intended to exchange situation reports in order to be able to appropriately respond to relevant situations. He was thinking here, among other things, of experiences of the West Berlin police with bomb threats, which had increased in the eastern part in recent weeks as well.

Regarding the increase in crime in his city, Schertz was "very far from linking the rise in shoplifting to GDR visitors." Such a rise was noticeable as long ago as the middle of the previous year. This was not the background of the talk with Bachmann; rather it is high time to talk about further cooperation. "One simply cannot close one's eyes to the fact that we have open frontiers that are being exploited by people who bear us less than goodwill." Irrespective of rapid political developments,

the police must do their job. Its daily work can only be dealt with "in relation to the legal and actual conditions." Bachmann added that "without forgetting the future, this look to the future should not be allowed to deprive us of the capacity to act and deal with the very dramatic situation at present."

Talks on Cooperation With FRG Media 'Illegal'

AU1202204590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Feb 90 p 1

[ADN report: "Illegal: FRG Media Tycoons' 'Venture' in the GDR"]

[Text] In the view of the government commission "Media Law," the negotiations between the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications, the Ministry of Culture, as well as the GDR Government's Press and Information Service and major FRG publishing houses about the distribution of news organs and advertisements for products in the electronic media of the GDR, are inconsistent with the decision on granting freedom of opinion, information, and media, which was adopted by the People's Chamber and the roundtable. On 9 February, the government commission, which unanimously distanced itself from such practices, gave a detailed account of these negotiations.

Negotiations were conducted with the publishing houses Heinrich Bauer Verlag, Burda GmbH, Gruner und Jahr, and Axel Springer Verlag AG, with the objective of establishing a distributing company on the basis of a joint venture with the German Post of the GDR to initially provide for the distribution of 70-100 publications by West German publishers in the GDR, and marketing the advertising times of the future GDR radio and television under public law. In the view of the government commission, the results of these talks are illegal and constitute another case of monopolization.

Roundtable Approves Draft Party Law

LD1202121190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1157 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The roundtable, after a lengthy debate, has approved without dissenting votes the draft of the party law. It now will be passed on to the People's Chamber for adoption.

Justice Minister Professor Dr. Kurt Wuensche pointed out in his explanatory remarks that the government had, for the first time, proceeded from a proposal by a roundtable working rgoup and had not tabled its own proposals.

After the vote, the discussion of the draft association law began.

Unity Talks Discussed

LD1202145990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1327 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The roundtable expects that the FRG will be doing everything to counter a further destabilization of the situation in the GDR and conducive to its amelioration. At present the main task is to ensure that the GDR's citizens remain in the country; therefore quick solutions to improve living conditions in the GDR are essential. The conceptions of the roundtable, together with proposals for amendment, were passed on to an editorial commission that, by the end of today's session, is to work out a draft on which a vote is to be taken.

The roundtable in Berlin this morning—on the eve of the FRG trip by GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow—had explained its positions on the unity of Germany and the future cooperation between the two German states. These, said moderator and senior church councillor Martin Ziegler during the debate, are a "negotiation aid" to be taken along by the GDR government delegation on their trip. The debate is characterized by deep concern about the further social security of GDR citizens. Those who have political responsibility in the two German states, the participants underscored, should now meet their common national responsibility and show the highest possible degree of political common sense.

Minister Dr. Wolfgang Ullmann (Democracy Now) rejected all efforts by the FRG to discredit the Modrow government and to subject it to a psychological campaign "that, through a steady flow of new and unclear yet unmistakeable statements, would serve to question the credibility of our country, and thus also bring into question the possibility of an election on 18 March." Many forces in the FRG are now aiming at a deliberate sharpening of the problems in the GDR. He called for the creation of a trust that would safeguard the ownership rights of the GDR population in their country.

Dr. Hans-Peter Wolf (LDP) [Liberal Democratic Party] said that the positions of the roundtable concerning the negotiations are a "good basis for the talks in Bonn." They could help to overcome the population's fears. Jan Mahling, as a representative of the Sorbs, called for "clear statements concerning the borders with regard to the Slav peoples in the east and south." Ulrich Junghanns (DBD) [Democratic Peasants Party] proposed negotiations on harmonizing the legal status, for instance about the safeguarding of property resulting from the land reform. Wolfgang Schnur (Democratic Awakening), Martin Gutzeit (SPD) [Social Democratic Party of Germany] and other representatives of parties and political groupings likewise expressed their fundamental agreement with the roundtable attitude toward the Modrow negotiations in Bonn.

Konrad Weiss (Democracy Now) recalled that FRG Chancellor Kohl had presumed in Moscow to speak on behalf of all Germans. "But Kohl did not speak for me in

Moscow," he said, referring to the negative results of a future unification, including up to two million unemployed in the GDR that could be expected.

Several participants submitted in writing their attitude toward the German-affairs policy. As part of the treaty-based community process, the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] called for the working out of a new democratic constitution "that is guided by the principles of the European human rights charter and expressly includes both the right to work and a lockout ban." Democracy Now demands "that all property, land holdings and grounds, real estate, manufacturing plant and production equipment should remain in private, cooperative, or social ownership."

The roundtable endorsed by a great majority the drafts for a "law on parties and other political associations" and a "law on associations." "Associations that pursue militarist or fascist or other antihumanist objectives or serve the dissemination and manifestation of religious and racial hatred or who seek to realize their objectives by force and the threat of force or who violate penal laws in any other way" are banned.

The DBD protested the disregard of the ban on guest speakers from the FRG in the election campaign, as decided by the roundtable.

Hears Statement on Elections

LD1202153290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1453 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR local elections of last year are to be declared invalid. This emerges from the draft of a statement of the Council of State that was presented to the roundtable this afternoon. However, it was said during the discussion that this did not require the approval of the roundtable but that it was a matter for the government and Council of State to issue this statement. [passage omitted]

Discusses Soviet Jews

LD1202203790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2007 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The topics of the discussion at the 12th roundtable in Berlin on Monday were the terms of a treaty-based community with the FRG initiated by the GDR government, draft laws on parties and association, representation and co-determination in factories, as well as further political, economic and social problems. [passage omitted]

At the end of the session the Initiative Peace and Human Rights demanded that the GDR should create conditions for the immediate reception of Soviet Jews. The parties and groups of the roundtable asked the Council of Ministers for decisions on this matter.

Roundtable on Principles of Military Policy

AU1202205890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Feb 90 p 2

[Rainer Funke report: "Fourth Roundtable Discussed Principles of Military Policy"]

[Excerpts] East Berlin—On 6 February, the "Fourth Roundtable on Military Reform" discussed the draft of the future "Principles of Military Policy of the GDR" for just under five and a half hours. Contrary to earlier views, the representatives of more than 20 parties, organizations, democratic movements, and church institutions agreed that, following the 18 March elections, these principles are to be adopted by the People's Chamber. Absent from the meeting was the Social Democratic Party of Germany, which, it has been occasionally said, would like to provide the defense minister. [passage omitted]

In the course of the meeting, Defense Minister Theodor Hoffmann made a declaration concerning the "one hundred-man task forces" of the National People's Army [NVA] in the fall of 1989.

Lieutenant General Graetz, chief of the NVA's Main Staff, confirmed that those who applied for work with the Bundeswehr are mainly former NVA members. Nevertheless, he said that he does not want to conceal that there were also deserters. One can assume that this development is neither in the interest of the Bundeswehr, which reserves the right to a very thorough examination, and even less so in the interest of the NVA. As Admiral Theodor Hoffmann added: "A deserter remains a deserter, I believe even in the eyes of Mr. Stoltenberg, and not just for us."

Green Party Holds First Congress

LD1002054490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1250 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Halle (ADN)—The first congress of the GDR Green Party opened in Halle this morning. The delegates from all parts of the country primarily want to discuss the party's statute and structure. Tomorrow's session will be dominated by a comprehensive discussion of the program. On 11 February, the party will discuss mainly questions concerning a possible election alliance for the parliamentary elections on 18 March.

The draft program before the delegates stresses the need for a "policy of ecological responsibility." This policy must not be aimed only at the material welfare of one section of the earth's population. The solution of global problems is the most important criteria for human and cultural progress. It is an illusion that unlimited growth is necessary and possible. Halle, the location of the meeting, is the capital of the area of the same name, in which the GDR chemicals industry is concentrated and in which the environment is seriously polluted to an above-average extent.

Schramm Addresses Congress

LD1002055490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1504 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Halle (ADN)—The GDR needs a party that "points the ecological finger" in the parliaments, Henry Schramm, one of the six spokesmen of the GDR Green Party, stated this afternoon in Halle in his opening address to the GDR Greens' first party congress. In the current election campaign for the parliamentary elections on 18 March, issues of environmental protection had been pushed into the background by most parties. It may be assumed this tendency would increase after the election campaign.

Schramm pointed out the many promises made now on the swift introduction of the market economy, whereby the aim of higher comsumption is merely linked to the market economy. There is no objection to the population receiving relevant rewards for hard work, but whoever preaches unfettered consumption in Europe and in doing so forgoes the damaged environment, Schramm said, is forgetting our children and grandchildren. The fresh social start in the GDR should not be at the expense of the environment.

Henry Schramm said that during the election campaign it must clearly emerge that an old one-party government should, in any event, not be replaced by a new one-party government. The SPD [Social Democratic Party] is grooming itself for such a role. Forty-million Deutsche marks in election campaign aid from the Federal German SPD will make this aim possible. "We should not pass judgment, but it is astonishing what a transformation some SPD representatives have gone through, whom we know from years of common opposition. The question was allowed as a warning: How will the SPD behave if it has the opportunity to govern alone?"

However, the conservative camp is also forming, Schramm said. Whoever supports the maintenance of the natural environment, for a balanced, and social market economy that is oriented toward people and nature should vote for the Green Party.

Henry Schramm spoke in favor of the two German states leaving their alliances. The Greens' solidarity is with the nations of the two-thirds world [as received], which should no longer suffer for the industrialized countries.

Constitution Adopted

LD1102020890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1657 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Halle (ADN)—"At present the Green Party regards the elementary conditions of mankind and nature as greatly endangered. It wants to take over political responsibility at national and international levels. In this process it regards the participation in elections as one means among others for achieving its aims," says a constitution adopted by the GDR Greens on 10 February at their first party congress in Halle. The Constitution lays down the name "Green Party," to which will be added the name of the relevant administrative region, such as the GDR or Saxony. The party symbols are the sunflower and a head with a green tree inside. [passage omitted]

The party congress is being attended by some 450 delegates from all areas of the GDR, and by guests from Green Parties in the FRG, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Austria, Poland, Sweden, and the USSR.

Party Executive Elected

LD1102151690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1447 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Halle (ADN)—A party executive consisting of six people was elected at today's first congress of the GDR Green Party. The delegates elected are: Judith Demba, Friedrich Heilmann, Victor Liebrenz, Dorit Nessing-Stranz, Henry Schramm and Christine Weiske. The party congress also elected Mario Haniel as business manager and official in charge of finances, and Vera Wollenberger as press spokesperson. [passage omitted]

Opposes Electoral Alliance

LD1102200890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1756 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Halle (ADN)—The first party congress of the GDR Green Party ended today in Halle. A large majority of delegates voted to prevent a government formed of the parties of the "Alliance for Germany" (the CDU [Christian Democratic Union], Democratic Awakening, and the German Social Union). They did not give their newly elected party executive a mandate for coalition negotiations with former government parties. [passage omitted]

The majority of delegates also rejected any collaboration with the New Forum. [passage omitted]

In a statement handed to the press, the Greens proposed the convening of a CSCE summit conference in 1990, with the aim of dissolving the two military alliances through the quickest possible means and complete disarmament, as well as the creation of a joint European security system. On the basis of this, the development of a German confederation should follow, with complete internal sovereignty of the two German states. The culmination of this process would be the elaboration of a constitution for a unified German republic within a European peace order. [passage omitted]

Liberal Parties Form League of Free Democrats

LD1202135190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1325 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (West) (ADN)—The German Forum Party, the Liberal-Democratic Party, and the GDR Free Democratic Party [FDP] have agreed on a joint electoral alliance. It will be known as the League of Free Democrats. This was announced at a news conference in West Berlin on Monday.

The program that sets out the preparation of common lists of candidates in all the GDR areas was introduced by the chairmen of the associated parties and by the leadership of the FRG FDP.

Further on League

LD1202164490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1605 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (West) (Adn)—The three liberal parties of the GDR will enter the 18 March People's Chamber elections with joint lists as the "League of Free Democrats." [passage omitted]

The alliance also was signed the Bonn Free Democratic Party [FDP] Chairman Otto Graf Lambsdorff and party group Chairman Wolfgang Mischnick, who helped to set it up. In the founding document, the FRG FDP commits itself to supporting the election campaign in the GDR financially and organizationally. Lambsdorff intends to speak in Brandenburg on Thursday. At the request of the GDR parties, Mischnick took on the chairmanship of a central coordination committee for the election campaign. The FDP group chairman said that the long-term aim of the alliance was a unification to create a joint liberal party, which is to unite with the FRG FDP on achievement of German unity. [passage omitted]

Berlin Mayor Krack To Resign Post

LD1202174890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1722 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—ADN has learned today from the Magistrat's press office in the GDR capital that the mayor of Berlin, Erhard Krack, is making his office available. On behalf of the groups in the Berlin City Assembly, the chairman of the City Assembly deputies, Professor Dr. Laurenz Demps, called on Krack to take political responsibility for the electoral fraud in connection with the local elections on 7 May 1989. In response, the mayor said that he would make his office available at the next City Assembly session.

Demonstrations Call for Unification

LD1302000190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1941 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—Calls of "Germany, one fatherland" and "Saxony—our homeland" predominated on Monday evening among the 80,000 or so demonstrators in the area city of Karl-Marx-Stadt. At the now traditional rally in front of the Karl Marx monument, several speakers stressed that now only a social market economy of the FRG type can help the country. What is needed was an efficient economy that also ensures a close-knit social welfare network. What are not needed however are further socialist experiments. [passage omitted]

A Party of Democratic Socialism representative who called for tolerance for those with different views was prevented from continuing by loud shouts of "Reds out."

Waving their black-red-gold and green-white flags, the demonstrators marched through the city center carrying banners reading "Germany, one fatherland."

Right-Wing 'Radicals' Burn Material

LD1202190590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1834 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Tens of thousands of people gathered on Monday in front of the Leipzig opera house for the traditional demonstration and rally. An election atmosphere marked the scene in the surrounding streets. New and old parties wooed voters for their aims from loudspeaker vans and with a flood of leaflets, stickers, and banners.

Even before the rally, right-wing radicals made an appearance. They had gathered behind the opera house and had burned other parties' election material.

Immediately after the peace prayers in various city churches, voices calling for German unity were heard on the Karl-Marx-Platz.

Right-Wingers in Leipzig

LD1202185990 Hamburg DPA in German 1804 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Leipzig (DPA)—Way over 100,000 GDR citizens in several GDR cities demonstrated on Monday evening again for German unity and the final dissolution of the former Socialist Unity Party of Germany state party, which now calls itself the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS). In Leipzig alone, almost 100,000 people gathered near the opera and then marched again around the Altstadt ringroad.

This time the rally began with the Deutschland-Lied [German national anthem, now used by FRG]. As the music came from the band there was rejoicing—and many people sang: "Deutschland, Deutschland ueber alles." [a banned verse because of its association with the Third Reich]

Despite the entry ban on radical right-wing Republicans Chairman Franz Schoenhuber, and despite the People's Chamber decision that the Republicans may not become active in the GDR, numerous [Republican] followers and representatives of other right-wing radical parties were again present at the Leipzig demonstration. The Republicans demanded United States and USSR "out of Germany" on a giant banner. "The occupiers'" withdrawal was demanded on several other banners as well that could be seen in the demonstration procession.

Hundreds of black-red-gold flags and demands such as "Germany, united fatherland" and "Dispossess the

PDS" dominated the scene again. A "Central German National Democrats" representative was also among the rally speakers.

A foreign observer said that the nationalist tones at the traditional Leipzig Monday demonstration were getting ever louder.

Demonstrators Clash

LD1202201390 Hamburg DPA in German 1917 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Leipzig (DPA)—In several GDR cities there have once again been demands for German unity during the traditional Monday demonstrations. In Leipzig, about 80,000 demonstrated. This was almost 20,000 fewer than in previous weeks. [passage omitted]

There were again incidents in Leipzig: Bottles were thrown, and there was an aggressive atmosphere at one place where right-wing radicals, including right-wing radical Republikaner supporters from the Federal Republic had assembled. Demonstrators shouted: "Nazis out." This was echoed by "We are not Nazis! Germany, Germany! Foreigners out." The Hitler salute could be seen in places. Bottles were thrown from both sides. People's Police observed the situation but did not intervene. Questioned, the People's Police said there was "no need for action," since there was no damage to property and no criminal activity. One banner in the demonstration read: United States and USSR "out of Germany." A few other banners also demanded the withdrawal of "the occupiers." [passage omitted]

PDS Position on Planned Currency Union

AU1302093990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Feb 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Currency Union Now—What Would Be the Consequences?"]

[Text] The Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] is in favor of bringing about the convertibility of the GDR mark and a currency union on the basis of the Deutsche mark as quickly and in an as though-out a way as possible. In this the interests of the GDR population must be taken into consideration. The proposal to immediately introduce the Deutsche mark in the GDR within the framework of a currency union, however, would lead to serious economic and social consequences for the GDR and its citizens.

An immediate, unprepared introduction of the Deutsche mark as a means of payment would mean

—mass destruction of jobs for all groups, in particular by closing down noncompetitive enterprises;

—devaluation of all savings, which would affect those to a particular degree who have saved through years of work for a secure retirement;

—considerable increase in the cost of living by adjusting the consumer prices, rents, and rates to the FRG without being able to guarantee a socially just compensation;

—a wave of speculation with land, real estate, and material assets of any kind;

—considerable losses through devaluation of social property in the form of factories, transportation facilities, cultural sites, apartments, stocks, and financial means in the hands of the economy, and also of agricultural production cooperatives and the state.

The expectations linked by some with such a currency union would not be fulfilled. The difference in income with the FRG would not be eliminated because, as a result of lower productivity, no GDR enterprise would be able to pay FRG wages.

Such a step would also entail burdens for the FRG population, which cannot be coped with at short notice. This would affect, above all, the socially weak, in particular the GDR citizens who have emigrated and who are still waiting for jobs. However, the FRG working people would also have to accept social cuts.

The social safety nets in both German states could not tolerate such strains.

For all these reasons, the PDS rejects the precipitate establishment of a currency union between the GDR and the FRG. There must be time to carry out this process on the basis of a well-thought-out, step-by-step plan. Decisions must be taken only when all important political, economic, and social consequences have been examined and have been frankly explained to the population.

As a party of social security, we expect the forthcoming negotiations between Premier Modrow and Chancellor Kohl to yield measures, above all, for

—preventing mass unemployment in the GDR;

—avoiding a currency reform;

—full social compensation in the case of necessary cuts in subsidies;

—the special protection of the social situation of retirees and children, single parents, and handicapped people.

The seriousness of the situation requires a community of responsibility of the two German states in the interest of all people who live on German soil. No politician, regardless from which state and which party he comes, can and may avoid this responsibility at present.

Professor Dr. Klaus Steinitz, chairman of the Economic, Agricultural, and Social Policy Committee of the PDS Executive Committee.

PDS Issues Draft Election Program

AU1302104790 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10-11 Feb 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Party of Democratic Socialism Draft Election Program: Democratic Freedoms for All—Social Security for Everyone"]

[Text] We address all people in our country. What we need is mutual understanding, respect, culture, and human dignity—what we need is peace, inside and outside.

The democratic new start in our country is also a new start with a Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS], which will consistently pursue the process of final dissociation from Stalinist structures, mechanisms, dogmas, old policy, and security concepts to its end. The first PDS congress will decide a new program of a modern socialist party and a democratic statute.

The future of our country is shaped by the citizens in free self- determination and through joint work. We want to participate responsibly in this future, also out of respect for the things that have so far been achieved by the people in our society and that will last in the eyes of history.

We consider ourselves a left socialist party:

—that is pledged to the political, social, democratic, and cultural ideals of the workers movement as well as to other humanistic traditions;

—that works for a humane working environment;

—that advocates a socially and ecologically oriented market economy that is aimed at social security for all, in particular also for the socially weak and handicapped, on the basis of high performances;

—that is categorically in favor of radical disarmament in East and West, solidarity among people, and the people's responsible attitude to our natural environment, and against any kind of neo-fascism, racism, and anti-Semitism.

We rely on the great power of democracy.

For a European Solution to the German Question

Perestroyka has opened up new opportunities for the peaceful coexistence of the peoples all over the world. They must be utilized:

—for radical disarmament and demilitarization of international relations;

—for the establishment of a just world economy full of solidarity;

—for overcoming the global ecological crisis.

The PDS is in favor of aiming the historic process of German unification at overcoming the division of Europe and at establishing a progressive, social, and democratic Germany.

For this purpose, it is necessary that:

First, the social values and achievements of the GDR are not to be given up, among which we count the right to work, our system of facilities for children, free education up to the universities, cooperative and state property in industry, agricultures, and other economic sectors, as well as antifascism and internationalism;

Second, a change is taking place not only in the GDR because we do not want mass unemployment and fear for one's livelihood, an elbow society, a ban on the Communist Party of Germany, the right to bar workers from enterprises, "Article 218" [on abortion], speculation with apartments and real estate, elimination of the land reform, admission of neo-fascist groups, doubts about the inviolability of the Oder-Neisse border, and life at the cost of other peoples;

Third, the GDR is participating in the process of unification as a sovereign state because such goals could not be achieved in the event of an anschluss [annexation] to the FRG. The application of FRG laws, which would then also be valid for the citizens of our country, would mean that private and social property and utilization of land, premises, apartments, and weekend houses, enterprises, and other facilities would be called into question in tens of thousands of cases and it would entail many other negative consequences.

In this spirit, we support the proposals for the gradual overcoming of the division of the German nation by:

—a community of treaties applying to the two systems that goes a long way toward economic, monetary, and social union, which is based on the common interests of the working people in the two states;

—by forming confederative structures while preserving an independent state;

—gradual transition toward a neutral and demilitarized German confederation within the framework of European unification.

For Democratization and a Law-Governed State

This means that all power is really exercised by the people. For this we need a pluralist parliamentary democracy, as well as strong and independent people's representative bodies at all levels. Questions of vital importance for the people must be decided by a referendum.

The PDS is in favor of the effective representation of the interests of the working people by strong trade unions and influential workers' councils. We are for:

—the unrestricted guarantee of all human rights and their binding enforceability;

—a new constitution that lives up to the democratic requirements of our development;

—the immediate working out of a trade union law in which the right to strike is laid down, or an enterprise law, and of the constitutional ban on barring workers from their job.

As the principle of a law-governed state we advocate: The citizen must be permitted to do everything that is not prohibited by the law. The state is permitted to do only what is sanctioned by the law.

We are against any kind of bans on exercising one's profession, thus also against bans involving current or former members of our party.

We are for introducing laender structures in the GDR. The towns and villages should deal with matters within their own area of responsibility. Every town and every village is to develop its own individual image. Therefore, we are for local self-administration, for the communities' having their own stable income, and for communal property.

The PDS is for a National People's Army and for a People's Police, which are pledged to all citizens of our country. We are for expanding democratic participation and trade union representation of interests in the armed organs. We call for social guarantees to draftees and professional soldiers. We are categorically against any phenomena of lawlessness. The health, freedoms, and rights of the citizens, as well as property in all forms are to be protected more effectively.

For Social Security

The PDS is for a socially and ecologically oriented market economy, which creates the economic preconditions for meeting the manifold demands of the people. Free regulation of the market must be restricted in those places where it endangers the common welfare of our society and the interests of future generations.

We support a program for stabilizing the national economy that is based on the results of decades of efforts by the people of this country. Therefore, we are in favor of:

—protecting social ownership of key producer goods;

—a constitutionally guaranteed right to work;

—free development of private small and medium-sized enterprises;

—an effective all-social framework for strategic development directions in the economy, promotion of independent initiative, and independent responsibility by the enterprises and working people;

—the establishment of effective legal guarantees for all forms of ownership;

—full guarantees and promotion of freedom of business, as well as a speedy demonopolization of service and trade sectors;

—the development of a competitive, ecologically oriented agriculture, with clear prospects for the agricultural producer cooperatives and state-owned farms.

The democratic land reform must not be reversed. We need a constitutional guarantee for preserving the ownership of the cooperative peasants of their land, their collective and private property. We want to prevent speculation with land. The free use of forests and lakes and their protection are to be ensured.

We are for:

—job-creation programs linked with legally guaranteed measures for retraining and social guarantees to the working people;

—safeguarding the right to work for the elderly and handicapped citizens, corresponding to specific possibilities;

—preserving the network of nurseries and kindergartens, after-school supervision facilities, as well as low-cost school meals in our country;

—an immediate program by the government that guarantees the citizen that everything necessary is done for him if he falls ill, regardless of how much money he has; this includes general access and equal opportunities in using medial services;

—a pension reform that facilitates a secure retirement, in line with one's performance at work;

—pre-retirement regulations;

—stability of currency and the protection of savings;

—protection of the constitutional right of the citizens to housing and protection against cancellation of tenure of apartments, hobby gardens, and recreational premises;

—protection, legal security, and respect for all forms of living together, including that of homosexual partners;

—apartments for senior citizens, decent old people's and nursing homes;

—individual compensation, in particular for families with many children, single parents, veterans, pensioners, and senior citizens, as well as handicapped people, and for the reduction of subsidies.

For Our Environment

Environmental quality is quality of life. We work for a healthy and beautiful environment that is worth living in as an elementary human right. We are for making

environmental policy an important part of social policy. Ecologically compatible actions represent the only the economically and socially sensible course.

We are for:

—an ecological security partnership in Europe that is based on the safeguarding of peace by disarmament;

—low-waste production that is promoted by ecological research, ecological area planning, and independent environmental monitoring;

—competent, democratic actions by the citizens in creating a decent environment;

—economic and legal framework conditions that support management and actions that are beneficial to the environment and effectively punish offenses against the environment;

—social housing construction and the creation of a cultivated living environment, the creation of a well-functioning local and long-distance transportation system, as well as the expansion and improvement of municipal technical equipment.

For a New Policy Concerning Women

The interests of women as social interests must be implemented in specific policy, in a policy that guarantees equal rights for men and women in the reality of our society.

This requires:

—the protection of all current constitutionally guaranteed and legally established rights of women;

—real guarantee of the right to work;

—preservation and expansion of social measures intended to make work and parenthood compatible;

—observance of the woman's right to decide herself when and whether she wants to have a baby, including the right to abortion;

—comprehensive expansion of service institutions;

—quota regulations in socially important areas, in which we strive for a 50-percent quota in all leaderships and for the seats of our party;

—struggle against any form of violence against women and children, against prostitution, and all other forms of violating a woman's dignity;

—establishment of homes for women.

Equal Right to Education

The PDS is in favor of a new education law that includes basic reforms of education from kindergarten to university.

We are in favor of:

—equal opportunities for all children, regardless of their ideology, religion, and social origin;

—an education sector that is pledged to general humanist values and where people are educated for peace, understanding among peoples, and antifascism;

—free 10-year state general schooling and vocational training for all;

—the free development of the individual, the promotion of the gifted, and support for people whose capacity is limited;

—free tuition at technical schools, colleges, and universities.

For Youth Capable of Self-Determination

We are in favor of:

—a new youth law that guarantees the basic rights of young people that are binding and can be enforced;

—financial support by the state for youth associations;

—the right of all young people to political self-determination and co-determination, to parliamentary representation of interests, and legally recognized councils;

—the right to work, education, attractive leisure activities, travel, and recreation;

—a new concept of protection of children and young people that firmly includes protection against drugs, AIDS, and crime.

For Free Science, Arts, and Medicine

The PDS understands culture as variety, self-realization, and tolerance, and as the basic quality of every decent society.

We are in favor of:

—free and independent media that work in the interest of the people in a balanced way;

—arts, which preserve life and are meaningful;

—education that prepares man for modern social structures and promotes his individuality, creativity, and independence;

—the material and legal safeguarding of the standard achieved in education, culture, and arts; enterprises, economic units, and communities should be legally obligated to finance and promote culture;

—cultural identity linked with one's homeland that understands itself as part of a multifaceted world culture;

—an immediate program by the state that ensures the promotion of science as a national task of top priority;

—freedom and overall support for science and pluralism of science, including freedom of Marxist research and teaching;

—comprehensive promotion of the capacity and creativity of the artistic, scientific, technical, medical, and pedagogical intelligentsia in the interest of society.

For a Modern Sports Concept

Sports has an indispensable function as a cultural and social phenomenon.

The PDS is for sport:

—that consistently orients itself toward the needs of the citizens and gives priority to having an attractive offer for mass sports;

—that promotes competitive sports but eschews thinking in terms of national prestige;

—that is financed by the state, the economy, and the communities.

For Good Relations With All Peoples in the World

As part of the international and democratic movement, we want to help to overcome the East-West conflict and the North-South conflict. We want to promote cooperation with the Soviet Union. It is vital for our country.

We are for radical demilitarization and for the elimination of all enemy images. Both German states have the chance to actively contribute to a Europe on the path toward irrevocable peace, a Europe that is free of weapons.

We want a democratic socialism.

This is a society:

—that, on the basis of an efficient economy, ensures a high degree of social security, really equal rights for women and men, equal opportunities, and personal freedom for all members of society;

—in which all social and economic questions are decided democratically in the interest of the majority and where, at the same time, the specific interests of minorities are taken into consideration;

—in which binding constitutional regulations must be established for solving all conflicts;

—in which the free room of every individual—also of minorities—for initiative and self-development are guaranteed;

—that permits effective social control in public and in which absolute tolerance toward people who think differently offers the basis for broad democratic coexistence.

The initiated competition of the parties and political associations for votes is a test for all participants concerning their ability to implement democracy and follow the culture of conflict.

We are looking for dialogue with you, the voters. Vote for social security! This means: PDS.

PDS Reacts to Trade Unions Demand

AU1302070190 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Feb 90 p 1

[ND report: "PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism) on Demand of Trade Unions"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—The unity of the trade unions, voluntarily united in the trade union holding organization, provides the opportunity to consistently represent the interests of all working people, women, young people, and veterans, a statement of the Executive Committee of the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] says. The call of the Free German Trade Union Federation for the immediate adoption of a trade union law by the People's Chamber is unreservedly supported. This includes a change in the GDR Constitution. The PDS also wants lockouts to be prohibited by law. In this way, the legal prerequisites for the unimpaired activity of the trade unions and all forms of the working people's representation of interests have to be established by law before structures are unilaterally created by the capital.

Potentialist Party Issues Founding Appeal

LD1601135290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1729 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—All truly socially minded Christian-Democratic and progressive forces that feel themselves close to the people are called upon to join the ranks of a new social order. The best and most capable citizens should form the leading team of the Potentialist People's Party (PVP), announces a letter handed over [not further described] today. The PVP is fighting for election to parliament on 6 May and is open to all citizens who expect something basically new in the mastering of contemporary problems.

The main principle of the PVP is: all powers of the people for the benefit of the people! The party supports, among other things, the victory of common sense in all sectors of the economy, ecology, strategy, and the coexistence of the peoples, an immediate arms stop, legal security and the rule of law, trade union codetermination and profit-sharing among all who earn the profit, the replacement of the GDR currency within five years at a rate of one to one in Deutsche mark [DM], and the abolition of the three-to-one exchange rate for FRG citizens and in its place the exchange of DM for forum checks [forumschecks].

Christian Social Party Established

AU1901153890 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 16 Jan 90 p 2

[NZ report: "Christian Social Party Founded"]

[Text] Berlin (NZ)—The Christian Social Party of Germany (CSPD) established its Berlin-Brandenburg organization over the weekend [13-14 January]. At the same time, a preliminary executive council of this organization, which is to be active until the national party conference, was elected.

Thus, according to a press statement, a firm organizational framework has been provided for all those forces that advocate a state completely based on the rule of law, social market economy, the unity of the German state, and further socialist experiments in politics and the economy. The CSPD wants to equally appeal to Christian, liberal, and conservative voters.

Entrepreneurs Association Established

AU2201094890 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 16 Jan 90 p 1

[Torsten Scheer report: "Now Association of GDR Entrepreneurs"]

[Excerpt] Berlin—The working group of the Entrepreneurs' Association has been established. At its constituent meeting, the Entrepreneurs' Association of the GDR dealt with the main points of its program. The association sees itself as the representation of interests of all private craftsmen and commercial businesses and the respective cooperatives, whose objective it is to bring about and implement a free economic order on the basis of the market economy. In this context, the entrepreneurs reject subsidies, economic protection for specific lines of business and enterprises of a specific size, artifical market barriers, restriction of competition, and exaggerated social protectionism.

The founders appealed to the government with an urgent request to involve them in the legislative work on price and tax reform. [passage omitted]

Independent Police Trade Union Founded

LD1801222290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2104 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Potsdam (ADN)—The German People's Police Trade Union was founded in Potsdam today. Thus for the first time in the GDR, a free police trade union independent of the Free German Trade Union Federation was founded. In an announcement handed to ADN, all trade union groups at the Interior Ministry are called on to join the union. Juergen Meier was elected as the provisional chairman of the German People's Police Trade Union, with Dieter Scharbert as his deputy.

German Social Union Founded in Leipzig

LD2101075690 Hamburg DPA in German 1747 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (DPA)—A German Social Union (DSU) was founded in Leipzig on 20 January. The objective is the union of all Christian, liberal, and conservative forces against further socialist attempts in the GDR. Twelve opposition groups and small parties voted for this new umbrella party, A Christian Democratic Union [CDU] spokesman said in West Berlin.

The current chairman of the Central Socialist Democratic Party, Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling, pastor in the Leipzig Thomas Church, was elected executive chairman with one "no" vote. The DSU considers itself a sister party of the CDU and the Christian Social Union [CSU], sharing its platform and seeking the state unity of Germany as quickly as possible, Ebeling emphasized at a news conference. Peter-Michael Diestel was elected general secretary. [passage omitted]

Federal Minister Juergen Warnke; the German affairs spokesman of the CDU/CSU Lower House group, Eduard Lintner; and the general secretary of the Berlin CDU, Klaus Landowsky, made an urgent appeal for gathering the bourgeois forces, and held out the prospect of help from the CDU and CSU.

Association of Professional Soldiers Formed

LD2101021690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1941 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The Association of Professional Soldiers of the GDR [verband der berufssoldaten] was founded on 20 January. It wants to make an independent contribution to democratic renewal and the unity of the people and the Army. This was decided by 520 delegates, who represent nearly 70,000 registered members from bases of the National People's Army (NVA) and the Civil Defense of all areas at a conference in Leipzig.

The association sees itself as a democratic, independent representative of the interests of active and former professional soldiers and of their families. Social recognition and social and legal security for the members are essential aims of the new organization. Its work is aimed at the securing of peace and the loyal, reliable fulfillment of duties on the basis of the GDR Constitution.

At the Leipzig conference, a set of statutes and an action program were unanimously adopted. Lieutenant Colonel Dr. Eckard Nickel was elected chairman of the Association of Professional Soldiers by delegates from 1,025 local groups so far.

The first ordinary association conference will take place on 21 April.

Internal Affairs Workers Form Union

LD2001225590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1624 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Today in Berlin, more than 600 delegates from all GDR bezirks founded, by a large majority, a united trade union for workers in the Ministry of Internal Affairs called "trade union of the People's Police (GdVP)" [gergewerkschaft der volkspolizei]. According to the elected chairman of the provisional working commission, Police Sergeant Guido Gruestzemann, they represent at present about 77,600 members in the country.

As an umbrella organization, the GdVP intends to represent the interests of the members of the People's Police, fire service, and penal system authorities. The members of the police trade union must have their say in the drawing up of a new people's police and official law. Gruelzemann announced that the first ordinary congress of the trade union will be at the end of February. [passage omitted]

Foreign Minister on Visit to Canada

Prospects for Support

LD1002093890 Budapest MTI in English 2010 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Ottawa, 9 Feb (MTI)—The Canadian Government and legislation are ready to provide extensive economic support to Hungary, also in recognition of her pioneer role in Central and East European reform processes. At the same time, Canada is not slightly worried [as received] over the political and economic tensions building up in the region. This is part of what Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs, in Canada at a government invitation, has told MTI's correspondent.

I experienced enormous interest towards Hungary. The Canadian Government's readiness for cooperation and support has been given great emphasis. At the same time, there were signs of worry over the destabilization of the situation in our region, which is causing private capital to act much more cautiously. They want a guarantee that the elections will not break the space of the democratic transformation and the conversion to a market economy. I have assured my partners that the changes are irreversible, and in spite of their differing views, the majority of the political parties hold identical or similar views as to the future of the political development.

The proposal of the Hungarian foreign minister to ease visa regulations in order to help passengers travelling between the two countries will be examined in a positive spirit.

Mr Horn told his negotiating partners that the Hungarian Government would initiate the settlement of cases involving people who had been deprived of their citizenship in the wake of 1945 (the coalition period) and 1956, should they so request. These individuals will regain their citizenship following a speed-up procedure.

In Ottawa, Mr Horn has met Ramond John Hnatyshyn, governor-general, Joe Clark, secretary of state for external affairs, John Fraser, speaker of the House of Commons, and Guy Charbonneau, speaker of the Senate. The latter two ensured the Hungarian foreign minister of the legislation's support to the Canadian Government's initiatives aimed at boosting cooperation with Hungary.

MTI Details Visit

LD1102202990 Budapest MTI in English 1805 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] Ottawa, February 11 (MTI)—On the strength of her economic prowess, Canada wishes to play a more active role in world politics, including developments in Central and Eastern Europe and Hungary. This is the impression Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn gained during his official visit to Canada concluded on Saturday.

During the weekend, Mr Horn met Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, who also assured him of his support for plans aimed at developing Canadian-Hungarian relations, including tax concessions to encourage Canadian projects in Hungary.

In addition to the agreement on investment protection and ensurance, the agenda also included an agreement on the elimination of dual taxation.

Brian Mulroney, head of Canada's Conservative government, is to pay a visit to Budapest after the Hungarian elections.

In his statement to MTI, Mr Horn stressed he was sure that in spite of initial difficulties, the "open skies" agreement would be signed according to schedule.

Mr Horn met David Peterson, head of the provincial government, in Toronto, and leading businessmen gave lunch in his honor. The hosts included Andras Sarlos, a major shareholder in the Central European Development Society, set up recently.

Both the Montreal and Toronto economic leaders welcomed the further instances of easing economic regulations in Hungary, including the right of foreigners to buy real estate in Hungary. At the same time, they drew attention to infrastructural defects, as well as a lot of red tape, which are still slowing down and obstructing investment projects.

Horn Meets Counterparts in Ottawa

LD1302095690 Budapest MTI in English 0825 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Ottawa, February 13 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn and Romanian Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac held a meeting on Monday in Ottawa. The sides examined the areas in which bilateral cooperation can be extended, with particular attention to the situation of Romania, and the home political problems of the Romanian leadership.

As was noted by the Hungarian side, occurrences unfavourable from the Hungarian aspect, nationalist excesses are intensifying in certain Romanian cities and villages. [sentence as received] The ministers agreed on the absolute need to accelerate the process aimed at fully normalizing relations, and to create the frameworks of this. It would be desirable for the Hungarian chief consulate in Cluj-Napoca to begin operation as soon as possible, and for talks to begin this week on a new agreement to replace the one on dual citizenship that was suspended by the Hungarian side.

The sides agreed that the damage caused by the Ceausescu system in the area of the government ministries should be eliminated as soon as possible. The Hungarian side is to provide assistance in restoring the Hungarian-language school network, in supplying text books, in creating and advancing the cultural self-determination of

ethnic Hungarians. The ministers also agreed to place bilateral economic relations on a new basis.

The Hungarian side reported that the conference of ethnic Romanian and ethnic Hungarian professionals of Hungary and Romania will be held in Budapest at the end of February. Topics of discussion will include the settlement of cultural relations between the two countries, and opportunities to further develop cooperation.

Gyula Horn also met Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier. The sides agreed to shortly open talks in the interest of settling the pending questions between the two countries.

According to observers, the issue of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage, the evaluation of the common historical past, economic relations, and the elimination of administrative restrictions imposed on Hungarian tourists, and the compulsory purchasing of petrol tickets, were themes of the discussion. The ministers briefed each other on issues of the Soviet troops withdrawal from their respective countries.

At talks between the Hungarian and the Turkish foreign ministers, Mesut Yilmaz reported that Turkish Government is scheduling further, high-level visits to Hungary, in the interest of developing economic cooperation. Turkey ensures an export credit frame valued at 100 million dollars, to intensify economic ties with Hungary, and it is also ready to participate in the training of Hungarian economic experts in Turkey. The two governments are to open talks in March on considerably easing the visa system: It is planned that Hungarian citizens will be able to receive visas on the Turkish border (which currently is the practice in Hungary), and visas will be eliminated in certain travel categories. Talks are to open on avoiding double taxation, and an agreement to promote investments.

The Hungarian and the Turkish foreign ministers noted that embracing the cause of ethnic minorities is a major factor of European stability.

Romanian Pastor Laszlo Tokes Continues Visit

Meets Kisvarda Church, Party Officials

LD1202204490 Budapest MTI in English 1536 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 12 (MTI)—Reformed pastor Laszlo Tokes' goodwill tour of Hungary continued on Monday in Kisvarda.

The programme of the clergyman from Timisoara, Romania, began with a visit to the town council, where he attended a special council session.

Szabolcs Lengyel, president of the Kisvarda organization of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, explained the aims of the foundation they set up and named after Laszlo Tokes, and through which they would like to provide assistance to Hungarians living in all parts of the world to safeguard their native language. A Hungarian-language summer school is to be held each year with support from the foundation: In the interest of ethnic Hungarians, support will be ensured to the training of theologians, and a prize will be awarded to those who favourably influence the situation of the ethnic Hungarians with their political, artistic or religious conduct anywhere in the world. Various factories, companies, cooperatives, institutions and citizens have so far donated 1.6 million forints to the foundation.

Laszlo Figula, manager of Kisvarda's cultural centre, said that the festival of minority theatres will be held there for the second time this year. Invitations have been addressed to Hungarian theatres in Transylvania as well.

Gyorgy Horvath, reformed pastor of Nagykallo, spoke of the decision reached by Nagykallo nursery school teacher training institute: The institute has undertaken to train 30 Romanian students of the Hungarian minority as nursery teachers.

Giving his thanks for the offers, Laszlo Tokes said in his speech that the means of intensifying confidence should be continuously sought in the interest of the two countries, and a strategy of cooperation worked out.

Following the council session, Laszlo Tokes held talks with officials of the diocese on improving relations between the Hungarian and the Romanian congregations. In the afternoon, he held a service in the city's reformed church.

Tokes also met with local representatives of the parties.

Tokes' Romanian Guards Arrive

LD1202204790 Budapest MTI in English 1740 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 12 (MTI)—On Laszlo Tokes' request, Hungarian Minister of Defence Ferenc Karpati invited to Hungary seven Romanian soldiers, who had guaranteed the security of the Timisoara clergyman during and after the Romanian revolution. The soldiers who arrived in Hungary on Monday and are to stay here until Thursday are expected to meet Laszlo Tokes as well.

Parliament Statement on Hungarians in Romania

AU1302070090 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 1 Feb 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "For the Rights of Hungarians in Romania"]

[Text] The National Assembly of the Hungarian Republic welcomed the Romanian revolution and the fall of the Ceausescu dictatorship. From the outset, the Hungarian Republic has supported the National Salvation Front and every democratic movement in Romania in their efforts aimed at creating a democratic Romania. We know that the National Salvation Front Council has

done a lot to eliminate the crimes of the past and the injustice burdening the peoples of Romania. Therefore, we cannot hide the fact that recent manifestations of certain Romanian forces have led to concern in Hungary. We regret to conclude that political forces which have not learned from the past continue to take a stand and continue to strive to limit the individual and collective rights of national minorities living in Romania.

In our view, the Hungarian national minority in Romania is justified in its demand to create the conditions for mother-tongue education and cultural autonomy based on self-determination as soon as possible, and it is also justified in rejecting the accusations that the struggle for national minority rights is equal to separatism. We hope that the democratic forces in Romania will take a firm stand in favor of ensuring the individual and collective rights of every national minority in Romania, including the rights of the Hungarians.

Hungarian-Romanian Society Formed

LD1202230790 Budapest MTI in English 2016 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 12 (MTI)—A Hungarian-Romanian Society was established in Budapest on Monday. The society, which is independent of both the government and the parties, seeks to serve reconciliation and friendship between the peoples living in the two countries, and, on the basis of the equal rights of nations and mutual respect for human rights, make them familiar with one another's cultural assets. The society seeks to support the cultural and intellectual development of ethnic Romanians in Hungary and ethnic Hungarians in Romania, and help them preserve their traditions and national identity.

The society holds it important for the churches and religious communities to maintain contacts with one another, and calls for establishing new economic ties between Hungary and Romania.

Academician Domokos Kosary was elected president of the Hungarian-Romanian Society.

Nyers, Petrasovits Attend West Berlin Congress

LD1002230290 Budapest MTI in English 2050 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] West-Berlin, February 9 (MTI)—Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP], and Anna Petrasovits, president of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary [SDPH], have participated as guests in the congress of socialist and social democratic parties held in West-Berlin.

During the two days of the congress, in addition to attending the plenary session, both Hungarian politicians held bilateral meetings and talks as well.

Mr Nyers told MTI he had participated in the congress guided by the conviction that Hungary's connection to the European community was of vital importance. Besides, he feels that the HSP has, and will have, a place in the family of the socialist and social democratic parties of Europe.

On the joint presence of the HSP and SDPH in West-Berlin, Mr Nyers said there was no prospect for approach between the two parties in near future. At the same time, he warned of the dangers of short-term thinking. He said that the politicians who cannot think in perspectives will inevitably become narrow sighted as well. In the middle run, the interests of parties should be subordinated to the requirements of progress and the left wing ideal, in other words and ultimately, to the interests of national advance.

Vatican's Casaroli Departs From Budapest

LD1202203890 Budapest MTI in English 1544 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 12 (MTI)—The Vatican delegation, which paid a six-day official visit to Hungary under the leadership of Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, secretary of state, saw the Hungarian holy crown and the coronation regalia in the Hungarian National Museum on Monday, the last day of the visit.

At noon, Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, gave a lunch in honour of Cardinal Casaroli and his entourage.

The delegation of the Holy See left Budapest on Monday in the afternoon. At Budapest's Ferihegy Airport, the delegation was seen off by Laszlo Kovacs, state secretary of foreign affairs, Barna Sarkadi Nagy, deputy minister and head of the Secretariat of Church Policy of the Council of Ministers, and Primate Cardinal Laszlo Paskai, archbishop of Esztergom.

EEC Grants $1 Billion Stopgap Loan

LD1202230690 Budapest MTI in English 2004 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Brussels, February 12 (MTI)—ECOFIN, the Council of the Ministers of Economy and Finance of the European Economic Community, decided on Monday that the EEC should grant a 1,000-million-dollar bridging loan to the Hungarian economy.

The loan, granted for a term of at most five years, is meant to help surmount the difficulties relating to structural readjustment. Her first instalment, equivalent of 400 million dollars, will be made available just after Hungary has concluded an agreement with the International Monetary Fund.

The first instalment will be guaranteed from the EEC budget. Decisions on the remainder will be passed later.

According to well-informed sources, Britain, the Netherlands and Spain objected that the EEC should guarantee the full sum now.

Japan Grants 5 Billion Yen Loan

LD1202152590 Budapest MTI in English 1438 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 12, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The National Bank of Hungary (NBH) confirmed during the weekend that the Japanese Eximbank and several Japanese commercial banks are to grant the NBH an inter-bank loan of 5 billion yen.

The loan is part of a 400 million USD credit package pledged by the Japanese Prime Minister Kaifu Toshiki during a visit here in mid-January. Hungary is to use the new loan to finance the imports of Japanese capital goods, thus boosting trade between the two countries.

Court Resolution on Direct Election of President

LD1202153790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] The Hungarian Constitutional Court has passed its first resolution, with unanimous approval. Accordingly, the National Assembly can amend the Constitution, that is, it can make it possible for the population to directly elect the president of the Republic of Hungary.

The Constitutional Court took the stand that the result of the referendum held on 26 November last year is not an obstacle to this because at that time the population decided only on the time of the presidential election. On 23 January, parliament asked for the Constitutional Court's opinion, after several deputies proposed that, contrary to the original regulations, it should be not the legislature but the population that directly elects the head of state of the Republic of Hungary.

MSZP Calls for Dialogue on Strengthening Police

LD1202124990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] believes that a dialogue must begin as soon as possible between the political organizations and the government organs of criminal investigation concerning the strengthening of the police.

In a statement, the Socialist Party points out that since it was forbidden for the police to use conspiratorial methods, they cannot be used against common criminals, either. At the same time, violent crimes are increasing rapidly in the country.

The Socialist Party considers it justified that the Ministry of the Interior disbanded its internal intelligence service, which carried out surveillances of political motivation, but it must not result in the deterioration of the country's public security situation.

Security Service Chief Interviewed on Activity

AU1202215690 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 6 Feb 90 pp 1, 3

[Report on interview with Colonel Istvan Dercze, head of the State Security Service, by Istvan Illes; place and date not given: "Head of Intelligence Gives First Interview in the History of the Service—The Taboos Served the One-Party Power"]

[Text] Intelligence was one of the faceless servants of the party state, one of many servants. If he needed information, the "consumer" submitted the order, but he did not want to know about who obtained the information, how, and under what conditions. This is how we wound up with the state security service scandal which also smeared us with mud, as we have been part of the Interior Ministry. Therefore, we have no other alternative in regaining our prestige but to become independent and make ourselves public—said Istvan Dercze, the recently appointed head of the III/I Main Directorate of the State Security Service of the Interior Ministry, that is the Intelligence Organization.

[Illes] This is the first time in the "firm's" history that you have appeared in public. Why now precisely?

[Dercze] This is the result of a process; we intelligence people have been urging this for a long time for the benefit of our own legalization and security. However, our proposal was always discarded by claiming that it was not topical. Now, the changes taking place in society not only allow but also demand dissipating the fog around us. Perhaps we have the greatest need for that because our situation is unclear also within the Interior Ministry. Now that we are working on forming an independent organization, it has become clear that our relations have been completely mixed up. This situation made it impossible to come up with any publicity. According to a still prevailing concept, we considered a lot of things to be secret and should not be known by society. In the past months, it has become clear that all these taboos only served the power of the one-party system. In my view, the taxpayers have the right to know where their money is spent, even if this activity was previously called super secret.

[Illes] Who was the real head of intelligence? Who placed the orders?

[Dercze] In a party state, of course it was the general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], and not the interior minister. The minister took the orders from important figues in the party or the government. The minister also "distributed" the information we had gathered.

[Illes] What were the subjects this information dealt with?

[Dercze] They asked primarily political, especially foreign political information from us. Economic policy intelligence gathering was not less important either, and

this was primarily connected with the country's foreign economic orientation. We also conducted gathering of technical and scientific information which served the development of our economy. We gave up this activity in summer 1989. In previous years, we received orders to gather ideological information. However, the "consumers" no longer need such information.

[Illes] How is the intelligence department living through the change in power?

[Derczel] The intelligence department's activity is changing along with changes in the weight and direction of our country's foreign policy. In a regime based on a multiparty system, no party will have the opportunity to exclusively influence Hungary's foreign policy. Therefore, the intelligence service cannot serve the efforts of a single party or adjust to it in the future. Only the government will be able to place orders and be a consumer of news. However, we regard it as necessary to see to it that the parliament has constant control over the legally regulated activities of national security bodies.

Relations With the KGB

[Illes] Is it true that the entire Hungarian state security service was a subsidiary of the KGB, the Soviet secret police?

[Derczel] This was no longer true in recent years. The Hungarian state defense authority was indeed created with the help of Soviet advisors at the end of the 1940's. As this organization reorganized, became stronger, and became professionally independent, there was no longer need for these advisers in the second half of the sixties. Their numbers decreased, and those who remained fulfilled a coordinating and liaison role. This system worked until summer 1989 when, at our initiative, the KGB officers were recalled. However, we continue to have liaison people in the Soviet colony who help cooperation between the two organizations.

[Illes] Is this some kind of "fraternal" help?

[Dercze] Given our geopolitical situation, we cannot totally eliminate our contacts with the Soviet Union. However, these contacts should only develop on the basis of mutual interests, including in intelligence matters. For some 5 years, our organization cooperated with the KGB only if Hungary's interests needed this cooperation. This will continue in the future, and the same refers to our cooperation with other intelligence agencies. None of them have or could have preferential treatment. We are now ourselves dealing with the instruction and training of our intelligence personnel, something previously done in Moscow. This way, we can save money and home instruction also serves specific Hungarian requirements.

[Illes] Compared with other countries similar in size to Hungary, is the Hungarian intelligence service small or big?

[Dercze] There is a critical point below which it is not worth conducting this activity. We hardly exceed this size. The answer to your question is that our apparatus is smaller than that of other countries comparable in size to Hungary. For understandable reasons, I will not mention figures, but I can give you an example for comparison. The take-off of a fighter pilot requires the activity of about ten land professionals. The foreign activity of an intelligence officer is helped by four or five people at home. Without this help, it is impossible to fulfill the task.

[Illes] So far, the intelligence service's expenses have been paid from the Interior Ministry's "big hat", and so it was kept secret even from the parliament deputies. Now that your organization is becoming independent, how much money will you need?

[Dercze] We do not know exactly because of the mixed-up conditions; anything that we have received so far in technology and services, we will have to pay for in the future. If you want to hear a figure by all means, then this sum will probably be around 1 billion forints. For saving purposes, no power can give up the gathering of information by secret means for the country's interest.

[Illes] Do the intelligence organization and intelligence personnel not feel above the law?

[Dercze] This is indeed a real danger. Concerning our organization, the issue can be dealt with more easily particularly if we operate within a legal framework and under parliamentary supervision. As for the individual intelligence personnel, certain people thought that they were above the law also at home. They allowed themselves more than other Hungarian citizens. In such cases, it is intolerable to "hush up" the case to save the uniform's honor. An intelligence officer who forgets himself should also be punished with all the severity of the law.

Jaruzelski Supports Soviet Troop Withdrawal

LD1302094890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Referring to the statement by the Soviet authorities on their readiness to begin talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Warsaw Pact member states, including Poland, President Wojciech Jaruzelski said in an interview with SZTANDAR MLODYCH that he supports the removal of Soviet armies, but, in accordance with a script and in a context which will guarantee the most favorable situation for Poland. The president added that we must also watch the events in Germany with great attention, and we must adopt a stance on this issue after careful consideration.

Meeting Discusses Soviet Troops, Krakow Rallies

LD1202215390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] A meeting has been held between USSR Consul General (Petr Serdachuk) and representatives and spokesmen of youth organizations, the Freedom and Peace Movement [WIP], the Independent Students Union [NZS], the Confederation of an Independent Poland [KPN] and the Federation of Fighting Youth [FMW], at the headquarters of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity [NSZZ] Malopolska Region Board, on the initiative of the USSR Consulate General in Krakow.

Following an exchange of views on the subject of the presence of Soviet Forces in Poland, and the recent rallies and demonstrations in Krakow, representatives of youth organizations stated categorically that it had never been their inclination to attack and destroy the consular building. The responsibility for the recent incidents in Krakow, according to them, rested with militia detachments which had behaved provocatively. The consul general gave assurances that he had nothing against the organizing of demonstrations, even in front of the consulate, but this ought to take place within the confines of the law accepted in all civilized countries. All those assembled acknowledged that the early organization of similar meetings could have prevented the recent incidents and brawls on the city streets.

Skubiszewski Outlines Foreign Policy Goals

AU1302095790 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10-11 Feb 90 pp 1, 9

[Katarzyna Kolodziejczyk report: "Three Directions"]

[Text] The purpose of foreign policy is to implement the principle of state independence, said Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski at a news conference on 9 February.

In a brief statement, he indicated the three directions of foreign policy:

1. Toward relations with the Soviet Union which, as he put it, is a matter of state strategy for political and economic considerations;
2. Toward the need to draft a new German policy in light of the imminence of a unification between the FRG and GDR, to which policy Poland attaches the same importance as to relations with the USSR;
3. Toward a Polish European policy that concentrates on the possibilities of joining various European structures that already exist.

The questions put to Minister Skubiszewski after his statement concentrated on the outcome of his latest visit to the FRG and Poland's relations with the two German states.

Asked about GDR Premier Hans Modrow's plan concerning a neutral GDR, Minister Skubiszewski said that the very author of this plan has himself begun to back out of it, and that the idea contains too many doubts to be referred to in detail. One must have a vision of what may happen in the future, he said, and Hans Modrow's idea of a neutral GDR does not provide such a vision. I see a great danger in the existence of a powerful giant that is isolated from the rest of Europe, which is what Germany will become after unification. Therefore Germany should be included in existing European structures. On the other hand, the question of German unity should be treated very carefully, avoiding a situation where both states can pursue their goals without the approval of the neighboring countries and superpowers.

Minister Skubiszewski thought the process of German unification would require a long time, because a mere declaration of unification is not enough. The many differences that separate the GDR and FRG must be overcome, for example the entire sphere of economics and law. Right now, the most important question is whether the GDR is capable of surviving as a state, said Minister Skubiszewski.

Asked whether the link that Poland had placed between the question of German unification and the question of the Odra-Nysa border was still valid, Minister Skubiszewski replied that he continued to consider this link necessary. He said that he had received Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher's complete support on this issue. Genscher had said that the FRG, GDR, and West Berlin will unite, and nothing more. Removing the subject of Polish borders from the internal German and international debate is one of the postulates of Polish foreign policy.

At a meeting at the German Society of Eastern Politics during his FRG visit, Minister Skubiszewski had been asked whether Poland intends to raise the subject of its eastern border. What had he replied, a journalist wanted to know. My answer was in the negative, Minister Skubiszewski said.

As far as the Pomeranian Bay is concerned, the recent treaty was a positive feature, but probably inadequate, he continued. The Polish Foreign Ministry is currently

examining this issue, and some kind of adjustment to the treaty is not to be ruled out.

Referring to relations with West European countries, K. Skubiszewski said that a revival has occurred in this sphere, for Poland is important as the fulcrum that balances the present European order. We must "play several pianos," taking care not to neglect regional links and relations. The road to a new system of European security leads via an integration with the European structures that already exist.

Minister Skubiszewski also gave exhaustive replies to questions about compensation for Polish forced laborers and concentration camp victims during World War II (we will provide an extensive article on this subject soon). He also explained the situation of Poles living in the FRG, and discussed what he considered to be the impermissible deportation of Poles from that country.

In appreciation of the role played by Lech Walesa and "Solidarity" in the changes in Europe, Minister Skubiszewski said, in reply to a question, that this role has been an exceptional one, whereas generally speaking trade unions naturally have no major role to play in foreign policy.

A separate topic at the news conference was Poland's relations with Israel. Minister Skubiszewski said that in a certain sense, these relations have existed for a long time. There are already offices which bear the picturesque name Sections of Interests. In Warsaw, this office is headed by a professional diplomat with the rank of ambassador. As far as the creation of diplomatic representations is concerned, this will probably take place this month during the visit by Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens.

Mazowiecki Discusses Trips to Belgium, France

AU1202162390 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 5 Feb 90 p 1

['(sew)'-signed report: "The Premier for GAZETA"]

[Text] Premier Mazowiecki returned to Warsaw on Sunday. While still aboard the aircraft, he agreed to provide GAZETA with a first assessment of his trip.

[Mazowiecki] We came to Strasbourg and Brussels with the conviction that now that acceleration has occurred in Poland, it should also occur in Western Europe. We encountered a lot of understanding from virtually all our interlocutors. The speech by the king of Belgium was characteristic of that understanding. He said that in view of the changes occurring in Eastern Europe, Western Europe should be not just a spectator, but an actor as well.

The meetings with Delors were important. He showed an excellent understanding of our situation and he considered not just the profundity of the changes we are undertaking to be important, but also the country's stabilization. I think we discussed all the essential details necessary for Poland to gain associate membership in the European Community.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] LE SOIR warned that associate membership could be the kind of entrance lobby from which one never enters the living room.

[Mazowiecki] It is bound to be a good entrance lobby from which one proceeds further.

With Martens, prime minister of Belgium, we discussed not only bilateral problems (support for industrial investments in Poland and the training program), but also reductions of Polish debts. He considered it necessary to support the Polish economy. The Belgians must discuss this matter with their partners in the Paris Club, but they swore they would take the initiative in this case.

If we add to all this our application to join the Council of Europe and my speeches before the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and a large body of members of the European Parliament, I think one can say that my visit was fruitful.

Mazowiecki Activities During UK Visit

Political Talks, Luncheon on Agenda

LD1202141690 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] London, Feb. 12—Poland's Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki arrived at Downing Street just after 12:00 hrs. The Polish premier will hold political talks and he will be entertained to a luncheon by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

This would not be the first meeting of the two premiers as they met during the British prime minister's visit to Poland in 1988.

Discusses Economic Aid With Thatcher

LD1202180990 Warsaw PAP in English 1634 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] London, Feb. 12—The talks at Downing Street ended at 14:45. They covered various forms of economic assistance for Poland, among them the training fund and the British contribution to the international fund for stabilization of the zloty.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Margaret Thatcher discussed also Poland's debts, bilateral relations and problems connected with the plans for Germany unification.

From Downing Street Premier Mazowiecki proceeded to the Westminster Palace, the seat of the British parliament.

Meets With UK Parliamentary Committee

LD1202181190 Warsaw PAP in English 1743 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] London. Feb. 12—In the Westminster Palace Premier Mazowiecki and the Polish delegation met with members of the House of Commons' Interparty Committee for Foreign Affairs.

At the beginning of last year the committee published an extensive report appealing for greater assistance for Poland undergoing a difficult period of economic collapse and system changes and for Great Britain's more active presence in Poland.

Thatcher Comments on Talks

LD1202230590 Warsaw PAP in English 1925 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] London, Feb. 12—During her meeting with newsmen after the talk with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, British Prime Minister Margeret Thatcher said Premier Mazowiecki presented in particular Poland's debt position and added the British side promised to be helpful and constructive as it could about that.

The British premier also said they spoke about Germany's re-unification and stressed they wished it to be carried out keeping the security and stability of Europe.

Mrs Thatcher said she hoped Poland would be admitted to the Council of Europe.

Attends Embassy Reception

LD1202230890 Warsaw PAP in English 2031 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] London, Feb. 12—In the evening Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki arrived at the Polish Embassy in London where he met with many British politicians, representatives of the Polish emigration in Great Britain and the diplomatic corps.

Mazowiecki also met with British newsmen specializing in religious affairs, among them with chairman of the Council of Christians and Jews Sigmund Sternberg, an outstanding advocate of Christian-Jewish dialogue.

Addresses Polish Emigres

LD1302014890 Warsaw PAP in English 2200 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] London, Feb, 12—Addressing Polish emigrees at the Polish Socio-cultural Centre in London, POSK, Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki stated in part:

"I was pleased to accept the invitation to today's meeting because, as I think, it is symbolic. As the head of a government set up in the wake of the victory of Solidarnosc—a movement which stemmed from the freedom strivings of the Polish nation—I meet with you, you who having experienced the bitterness of war defeat and the fortunes of exiles, were able for half a century to remain faithful to the idea of a sovereign Poland.

"I hope that the changes taking place in Poland and throughout Central-Eastern Europe will bring an end to the half a century of the strivings of our nation, that at long last we will attain our goal, a sovereign and democratic Poland. A difficult road is still ahead of us but we have already progressed signfiicantly along it. We have already built the political and economic foundations of sovereignty and democracy. Poland is already "our" state. We all understand nonetheless that there are still many threats, many barriers stalling the pace of ongoing transformations.

"We will overcome them gradually, while preserving radicalism of goals, we want to abide by the principle of moderation in the means leading to them."

Delegation Holds Meetings

LD1302014690 Warsaw PAP in English 2150 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] London, Feb. 12—Polish Vice Minister of Finance Janusz Sawicki met with this British counterpart Peter Mountfield to discuss financial cooperation between the two countries.

Great Britian takes a favourable stand towards resuming government guarantees for short-term credits for Poland. It is also reviewing the concept of setting up a fund endorsing privitization in Poland. Other concepts will also be pondered to ease Poland's foreign debt burden, with a working group to be set up to this end.

Polish Vice Minister of National Education Tadeusz Diem and top-ranking British Foreign Office officials met with journalists to present progress in the British know-how fund which has grown to 50 million pounds and covers key fields of the Polish economy.

Government Spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska assessed the first day of the visit very highly, stressing the great cordiality with which Prime Minister Thatcher received Premier Mazowiecki and the big uniformity of views of the topics discussed.

Jaruzelski Statement on Swiss Visit Published

AU1202181290 Warsaw TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA in Polish 7 Feb 90 p 1

[Statement by President Wojciech Jaruzelski for TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA at the conclusion of his visit to Switzerland]

[Text] At the conclusion of his visit to the Swiss Confederation, President Wojciech Jaruzelski issued a statement to TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA's special correspondent Waldemar Kedaj.

[Jaruzelski] My visit to Switzerland, a country in the heart of Europe and one that has gained particu...

international prestige for economic, political, and diplomatic reasons, enables one to view world problems and one's own problems in two aspects.

At the World Economic Forum in Davos, which was attended by distinguished world political figures and representatives of economic and financial circles, I was able to convince myself that there is a great amount of interest in our country's affairs. Poland is encountering respect as a country that has played and is still playing a pioneering role in the process of profound political and economic transformations in Central and East Europe. Let me stress that the Polish way of settling disputes and conflicts—in other words a road of accord, reforms, and state stability—is arousing particular respect. That is certainly the reason why many of my interlocutors from both East and West expressed so much appreciation for Poland's contribution to the process of detente and stabilization in Europe.

Our participation in the forum in Davos was also an opportunity to present urgent Polish problems and requirements connected with the difficult transition from a centrally planned economy to a market economy, and especially the burden of debts. I had the impression that our postulates in this respect are encountering increasing understanding on the part of the Western countries. There is also a growing awareness of the need to jointly tackle the challenges on which the creation of a new, democratic, prosperous, and safe Europe depends.

I also consider my talks with Swiss politicians to have been interesting and useful. Switzerland is joined to Poland by traditionally good relations. I joked to President Arnold Keller that one can "see Naples and die," but after seeing Switzerland one wants to live and experience its impressive features.

Foreign Ministry Welcomes Mandela Release

LD1302063790 Warsaw PAP in English 2035 GMT 12 Feb 90

["Foreign Ministry's Statement on Freeing Mandela"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 12—Polish authorities welcome the freeing of Nelson Mandela with great satisfaction. He is leader of the African National Congress and steadfast fighter for the rights of black majority in the Republic of South Africa. Polish society demanded this for years.

The regaining of freedom by Mandela after twenty-seven years of imprisonment reflects sweeping changes towards democratization and observance of human rights now taking place worldwide. This is also a proof of realism of the authorities of the Republic of South Africa and the willingness to seek solutions to complex problems of that country by way of dialogue and negotiations, with the participation of all important political forces.

Poland will foster this process that should lead to the complete elimination of apartheid and setting up a democratic multi-racial state. This will make it possible to restore long awaited peace and stability in the south of Africa and will enable the Republic of South Africa to regain its due place in international community.

Kwasniewski Discusses Social Democracy Party

AU0802170590 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 5 Feb 90 pp 164-165

[Interview with Aleksander Kwasniewski, head of Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, by unidentified reporter; place and date not given]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Does the dissolution of the Polish United Workers Party, the PZPR, mean the end of Communism in this country?

[Kwasniewski] There cannot be an end of something, which never existed. The communist utopia was never completely implemented in Europe—fortunately, one has to say.

[DER SPIEGEL] But there was the "real socialism"....

[Kwasniewski] This was at best just the first chapter in the book of this utopia. After its first upswing, this system increasingly lost its strength. And in an epoch of enormous technological and civilizational progress, it finally proved to be completely infertile. Its institutions, for instance the leading role of the communist state unity party, are already things of the past.

[DER SPIEGEL] And the old comrades are now shocked?

[Kwasniewski] Some are grieving about the past. But, after all, it was the last leadership team of the party in Poland, who understood the challenges of the time and faced up to the needs of the people as well as to the historical requirements. The agreement at the "round-table," the elections last June, then the handing over of the government, and, finally, the dissolution of the party—all this was consistent, and it was consistent because it was prepared and carried out by the people of the formerly ruling party together with Solidarity. This now saves us from the excess of radicalism and mutual aggressions.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do all of the nomenklatura see matters in this way?

[Kwasniewski] The nomenklatura is a myth of propaganda. Completely different people are put into this sack: not only those whose world has now really collapsed because they are nothing without a government telephone, but also efficient managers and civil servants who made completely unpolitical decisions, and, finally, also politicians who—like myself—were fed up with the old system.

[DER SPIEGEL] You mean some people could stay on?

[Kwasniewski] The nomenklatura liquidates itself. It will be more difficult to change people's awareness, which

has been characterized by real socialism for three generations—the things that are rooted in the thinking of the people: deprivation of independence, lack of responsibility for one's own fate, lack of initiative, claims on the state.

[DER SPIEGEL] Will this be more difficult than changing the structures and institutions?

[Kwasniewski] The change in the inefficient and outdated heavy industry with its monopolies is only the beginning. One also has to touch upon the interests and habits of broad strata of society—and then conflicts are threatening.

[DER SPIEGEL] Two parties were born at the grave of the PZPR—the Social Democracy, which you are heading, and the Social Democratic Union of Tadeusz Fiszbach....

[Kwasniewski] Fiszbach participated in preparing our program for a few months, and we adopted this program. He did not propose anything else to his new party. Thus, it is not a question of program.

[DER SPIEGEL] In your party, part of the so-called cement communists stayed on. Are you worried about this?

[Kwasniewski] Not only Fiszbach's followers started from the founding congress, but also those for whom our program is too far removed from the communist dogmas. Those who stayed on are people of very different characteristics, also those with whom I do not feel comfortable being in one organization. But if one is a social democrat, one has to be tolerant. After all, it is no longer a state party. There can certainly be discussions and groups—they give the party strength to achieve credibility.

[DER SPIEGEL] Will the citizens believe in these sudden transformations?

[Kwasniewski] We have created a completely new party—with a basically different program, a new statute, which is basically different from the bolshevik statute. I do not believe in an immaculate beginning. Every party, every movement carries something along: good traditions—the original socialist thinking—but also burdens from the past. We have to prove in practice that we are a modern party of parliamentary democracy.

[DER SPIEGEL] How many members do you expect?

[Kwasniewksi] I prefer a party with 100,000 members which wins 1 million voters, over one which has 1 million members but only gets 100,000 votes.

[DER SPIEGEL] What percentage of the votes to you expect?

[Kwasniewski] This depends on when the elections take place, and on the economic and political situation. And also on the extent to which we will be able to express the interests of the progressive social groups—the modern industrial workers; the medium stratum of the so-called intelligentsia, that is the engineers, doctors, and managers; but, above all, the young people, who today are both against the camp of those in power and against the left. I would consider 10 to 15 percent a success.

[DER SPIEGEL] What is your attitude toward the social democracy of the West?

[Kwasniewski] We are trying to become a member of the Socialist International. We want to be a Polish and a European party, because we need a united Europe: The sudden outbreak of desires for self-determination in Eastern and Central Europe also promotes the dangers of chauvinism.

[DER SPIEGEL] Was this any different in the divided Europe?

[Kwasniewksi] The forced division of Europe into two systems is coming to an end. However, the division into a sphere of prosperity and high technology and a sphere of backwardness will not disappear at once. The order after Yalta brought many painful restrictions of freedom for the Poles. But, at the same time, it guaranteed the safety of our borders.

[DER SPIEGEL] This sounds a bit like longing for Yalta.

[Kwasniewski] Not at all. But in a new Europe we have to find not only the right to freedom but also the right to a life in secure borders. I say this in particular with a view to a future reunification of Germany. If the political-military systems are to be liquidated, we have to get other guarantees instead.

Kwasniewski Closes Social Democracy Congress

AU0902151090 Warsaw TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA in Polish 31 Jan 90 p 3

[Closing speech by Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, at its founding congress in Warsaw on 30 January]

[Text] Esteemed delegates! After so many days and nights spent in this hall, it is still very difficult to discuss the most important matters. We really have worked hard. We are closing the Founding Congress of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP], and this fact is important on its own, whatever our future will be.

It is worth considering what has happened in this hall. Well, the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] has concluded its activity. Right now it is impossible to carry out a complete assessment of it. That will take time. We must all allow ourselves enough time for that, but no objective observer of the Polish political scene and Polish political life will be able to dismiss the history of the PZPR. We must trust that the future will provide a penetrating, critical, and fair assessment of the PZPR.

We have held the two Congresses at a time of tumultuous, historic change in Poland and the whole of Central and East Europe. Real socialism, which developed before our very eyes during the past 40 years, is dying. However it would be too simple to say that we are suddenly all changing, as if touched by a magic wand. Neither those in this hall today, nor the entire Polish populace is changing. This is a process which takes time, and we need time to think about our own activities and views.

Unfortunately, we are leaving this hall divided. One cannot hide the fact that the emergence of the Social-Democratic Union and the nonparticipation of some delegates in the Founding Congress proves that a division has occurred. Perhaps the word "split" is too strong, but there is no doubt about a division.

Did it have to happen? Seeing that it did happen, the answer is probably yes. And perhaps the unity that was artificially held together for so long could not withstand the pressures of these historic times. I want to say, and I am sure most delegates will agree with me, that for my part, I have done everything I could. I am leaving this hall with a clear conscience. I wanted—we wanted—the debate in this hall to be substantive and political. I wanted us to be able to talk or disagree on the basis of political interests, and not on the basis of emotions or personal grudges. Nevertheless, I do not think the division that has occurred has finished dialogue between us and stopped us from reaching agreement and seeking joint values. That is what I believe, and I say to all the forces of the Polish Left that after this congress we shall hold a great dialogue of Polish left-wing forces and seek an accord.

We have not divided ourselves into just two groups, as the mass media claim we have, for apart from the delegates who left to form the Social Democratic Union, other PZPR delegates who had attended the 11th PZPR Congress also left the hall, claiming that a social democratic platform did not suit them. Their views and stances also have to be respected. Perhaps new organizational structures will emerge from this division as well. I wish to guarantee and declare that we are also open to these people and would like to talk to them. However, we have no intention of having them talk to us from a position of strength, as a majority party, for most delegates have remained in this hall. We would like this to be genuine dialogue, a dialogue between the forces of the Left.

We have been told that everything we have achieved in the Congress Hall in the past few days is nothing but a new coat of paint for the PZPR. It has been suggested, and is being strongly asserted, that the SDRP is the successor of and a straightforward continuation of the PZPR. I note with concern that the accusations of divisiveness, slogans, and labels that have been heaped upon us are still being bandied about. Until recently, a favorite way of dividing PZPR members was into reformers on the one hand and hardliners on the other, or reformers on the one hand and conservatives on the other. Well, now we have a new division. The party that has emerged here today, that has emerged through the effort of party reformers, that has emerged thanks to the determination of the social democratic block, is now also being labeled as a bunch of hardliners and conservatives. That is very convenient, but it is not true.

For over 40 years, the PZPR built its unity in a special way. Various people joined it—those who had always been sympathetic to social democratic values and concepts, and those who have only now realized that social democratic values and the concepts of parliamentary democracy hold more chances, more sense, and more security for society than a single-party system. The PZPR also contained those people and they may be with us today—those who held that only mistakes by leaderships and unexpected moments prevented the PZPR from completing its mission successfully.

That party was very varied internally. If we want to be honest observers of the political scene, we must see to it that any differences between us are not just simple divisions into conservatives on the one hand and reformers on the other, or the Social-Democratic Union and SDRP on the other, but that these differences are the result of different values, different ways of thinking, and a readiness to undertake action. I think that those who have created the SDRP are reformers who used to belong to the PZPR, plus those who see the reforms, changes, democracy, and a return to European social democratic values as a chance for a left-wing party in Poland.

Also, we are often being compared to the PZPR which was created many years ago, and this comparison is also completely false. How can one compare us with the PZPR, which was formed out of a merger of the Polish Workers Party and Polish Socialist Party, not on the basis of democratic debate, but on the basis of the power of a single party that ruled in a system of real socialism? How can one compare the formation of such a party with the formation of the SDRP, which was formed at a time of attacks on PZPR buildings, at a time when we are not in power, and at a time when justified and unjustified social criticism of us is being made on the radio, on television, and in the press? How can one compare these two completely different situations? Today, membership of our party is a sign of determination, courage, and also nonconformity.

But it is also true—and this has to be stated clearly—that we are also acting with people who belonged to the old PZPR, with people who belonged to it or sympathized with it. After all, these people formed the base of the PZPR, and that base survives. It will continue to be a left-wing base in Poland for a long time. I think that neither we nor anyone else can claim to be the only people who are right, the only true bearers of the sacred left-wing flame, and that only we can decide who is a social democrat and who is not.

We are the ones who have transformed Poland, who created the "roundtable," who spoke out in favor of profound reforms, and who want to encourage these great Polish reforms today. We have adopted the achievements of PZPR reformers, we have adopted the fruits of the democratic activity of recent months, we are the ones continuing the philosophy that led to the "roundtable" and is safeguarding the reforms in Poland. I believe that it is this very stream, this very way of thinking, that will dominate the new party, and that we ourselves will revise our way of thinking and dispense with the old methods of action that are ineffective and lead to nowhere. For many of us, that will be a very difficult task. But I believe that after this debate, after this congress, and after holding talks among our respective milieus, we will be able to perform it.

Where are we as far as the Polish situation is concerned? This has already been discussed in this hall, so I will just say that soon this party will have to take a stance on the subject of the Polish reality. The political scene has changed, the political pattern has changed, and very soon we are going to hold a very serious discussion among the Deputies Club which was until recently the PZPR Deputies Club. Of course, consequences emerge from this. We must consider what the new party's attitude toward the government should be, and I am convinced that at the present historic time, at this time of political and economic transformation, Poland needs a grand coalition government, a government enjoying broad social support. Therefore, while preserving our identity and the right to criticize, I would like us to accept the principle that is not just our party duty, but also our national and social duty to support those government actions that serve to overcome the crisis, encourage democratic transformations, and lead to the establishment of a democratic order in Poland.

We also want to cooperate closely with a man who guarantees today that the reforms which have been undertaken in Poland are free of conflict and have a chance of succeeding. I mean President of the Polish Republic Wojciech Jaruzelski. I believe he deserves the help and support of our party, and our cooperation in everything that could be useful in the creation of a new democratic order and new social conditions. I also think that from our party, the president may count on critically minded but constructive ideas and concepts, as from a partner.

We also want this party, which will take shape in a way completely different to all parties before it, to enjoy the support of professional milieus and work places. That is why we are open to cooperation with the trade unions. I believe—and this has to be stated clearly—that we need honest dialogue and cooperation with "Solidarity." But most of all, we need honest dialogue, joint action, and joint thinking with the National Trade Union Confederation on the subject of preserving the most important values of the left wing, such as social justice, equal opportunities, and social policy. We also want this dialogue to be partnerlike and full of controversy, but one which nevertheless provides the utmost advantage not just for both partners to it, but for the whole society.

Right now, three milieus are the most important ones from the point of view of our party's interests. The first group is the workers. There is no social democratic party in the world that can act in isolation from this group, and I would like all intellectual and organizational forces of social democracy to get through to these people and convince them of what we have created at this congress. I would like us to be able to say as soon as possible that we are present among the workers not just in a formal sense, not just in terms of membership, but also because we have the support of these communities.

As far as rural communities are concerned, we do not have any convincing concepts yet. This will be one of the more important tasks that we will have to perform. It has been said here today that social democracy is not getting through to rural communities, because that is the normal situation with social democratic tradition and practice. There is a lot of truth in that. But rural areas in the West are one thing, and rural areas in Poland are another. We must open ourselves to rural problems. We must tackle the problem of modernizing rural areas. We must open ourselves to those issues in which social democracy and its values may be useful.

We must find a way of reaching the young generation, for I fear that the anarchization of young people is not just a marginal phenomenon. The "Solidarity" ethos, the ethos of August 1980, belongs to a different generation than the one which is attending secondary schools and colleges today. We must get through to these young people and show them that a rational political path, rational activity, and left-wing values may also be attractive for them. I believe we will gain this kind of support from young people.

I thank everyone in this hall for the people they have elected to the Supreme Council. I believe that a Supreme Council which contains representatives of these communities, which contains a strong representation of people from the intelligentsia, can help us quickly establish a program and get through to the social groups I have just spoken about.

And finally, what should be done today, how can we get through to these people? The party must be different. We must dispense with the tradition that led to formalism and an empty facade. We must show that we are a living party, a party that is thinking in new terms.

Today, membership in the party is exceedingly important. But I warn against a competition to see which voivodship has the most members. Our real objective today is to gain the support of people, get through to them, and convince them that we can be trustworthy representatives of their interests. We can defend their interests convincingly and effectively. Therefore I believe that everything we do after the congress will be authentic work, a building up of the party from scratch, the holding of many meetings, discussions, and talks. It

will be the creation of a community of people from the left, not just party people, but left-wing people in general.

I would like the delegates to exert an influence on people in authority and on people who think the same way as we do. They do not have to join the party straightaway. Let us give them a chance. Let them consider, let them examine us, let them convince themselves about the credibility of our actions and our steadfastness. I repeat, we must get out among the people as quickly as possible, and not shut ourselves behind office doors. We must convince ourselves about what happened at the congress, and prove to them that we want to go even further. Today, support for our party, in other words the electorate, is more important than mere party membership.

I would like us to tackle the real problems of the people as quickly as possible. We are living through a very difficult period, and very soon the issues that are currently just clauses in the economic program will become reality. People will start to realize that life is harder, that there are many problems, that there is a danger of social conflicts. We must show that we are a rational force, a party that wishes to resolve conflicts. We also want to show that we are a party that wants to defend those working people's interests that are in danger. We must respond to the needs of today. We must be sensitive to everything going on among people.

We must calmly accept criticism, we must be ready to face up to the accusations that are launched against us because of our "origins." We must be prepared to answer the following questions asked by society: All right, but what do you intend to do as a party that is worthy of trust and worthy of gaining votes at every election?

Apart from referring to the values of social democracy, I would like this party to be a party of common sense, a party of dialogue, a party of national accord, a party of courage and determination, a party that is capable of shaping its programs and postulates with imagination, but also one that possesses the necessary pragmatism and consistency to implement its own resolutions. In the past, this was very much absent.

Dear friends and delegates, in today's times, when it is so difficult to be a left-winger, I would like all of us to display great courage, imagination, determination, and steadfastness. I wish all of you as happy a return to your families and communities as possible, so that you may feel satisfied with what you have achieved in Warsaw.

But do not expect to be showered with praise and handshakes straightaway. Hard work is ahead of us. I am confident that, after we have had a rest, we will raise our heads high, go to our friends and sympathizers, and begin our daily work—work that will enable us to say at the Social Democratic Convention of the Polish Republic next year that we did good work in 1990. There is a chance for the Polish left wing! There is a chance for peace in Poland! There is a chance for our country to develop and modernize! There is a chance for national accord! And all this will take place with our intelligent and energetic participation. Thank you very much.

Congress Adopts Statute

AU1102213090 Warsaw TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA in Polish 30 Jan 90 p 12

["Statute of Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland" adopted at the founding congress in Warsaw on 28 January]

[Text]

I. The Party's Goals

The Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland:

operates within the constitutional framework of the Republic of Poland. It strives towards a state based upon the law, parliamentary democracy, a self-governing civic society, and the realization of the ideals of democratic socialism.

It deems its supreme duty to be the strengthening of the independence of the Polish state, the defense of its sovereignty, and the promotion of national accord.

It deems the highest values to be social justice, equal rights and liberties for citizens, and solidarity among working people.

It is for the rational development of the country and ensuring a decent standard of living for man within his natural environment and the fulfillment of his social and cultural aspirations.

It is in favor of freedom of conscience and ideological tolerance, as well as tolerance toward ethnic and cultural differences.

It cooperates with the forces of freedom, peace, and social progress in the world. It is open to cooperation with all who identify with the ideals of humanism and democracy.

II. Party Members

1. Party membership is open to any Polish citizen who recognizes the party's programmatic declaration and statute, is over 18 years of age, and enjoys full civil rights.

2. Membership is obtained by lodging a declaration of membership with any party circle. The appropriate party disciplinary tribunal can rescind membership after reviewing objections lodged by party members.

3. Membership lapses on submission of a written declaration to the circle to which the member belongs, failure to pay party dues for 3 months in succession, or as a result of a decision made by a party disciplinary tribunal.

4. A member of the party cannot belong to another party.

5. Party members possess equal rights. In particular, the party members has the right to:

a) participate in the creation of the party program and party policy, as well as in the formulation of party activity;

b) obtain information on the work of the party and its cells;

c) freely express his views and criticize other members and party organs;

d) launch political initiatives within the party as well as obtain support for such initiatives from other party members, cells, and organs;

e) submit his candidacy for any post in the party in accordance with electoral regulations that are in force;

f) to campaign, with the party's backing, for seats on representative and self-government bodies, as well as receive party support in election campaigns;

g) be defended by the party in the event of being the target of unjustified charges or a as a result of being wronged during the course of political activity, as well as in other difficult situations;

h) receive party assistance in discharging duties and exercising party rights;

i) suspend membership for important vocational or personal reasons;

6. The party members have a duty to:

a) conscientiously discharge civic and social duties;

b) uphold the good name of the party and obtain supporters for it;

c) participate in party activity, support the party materially, pay membership dues and support the party press and party publications.

7. A party member who, having stood as a party candidate, holds office in representative, self-management, and state authorities, political institutions, and social organizations is responsible before the party.

II. The Structure of the Party and Party Ruling Bodies

8. The party operates inside Poland. The headquarters of the party's supreme ruling bodies are located in Warsaw. Party membership is also open to Polish citizens who are living abroad and who have organized themselves in accordance with the provisions of this statute.

9. The structure of the party is based on the administrative division of the state as well as on association stemming from a given locality or occupation.

Local circles are to be created in places of residence. In addition, community-based circles that bring together party members according to occupation or the performance of work of a particular kind may also be established. A party circle may be created wherever there are at least five members, who will elect a council, including a chairman and a treasurer.

10. For the purpose of coordinating the activities of party circles, local and community-based party councils composed of representatives of party circles can be established.

11. The voivodship party organization ruling bodies that are empowered to pass resolutions are: the voivodship party congress, which is to be convened at least once every 4 years, and the voivodship council. The voivodship congress elects: the chairman of the voivodship council; the secretary of the voivodship executive committee; the voivodship council; the voivodship party disciplinary tribunal; and the voivodship auditing commission. The council elects two deputy chairmen. One of the deputy chairmen is recommended by the party council members.

For the purpose of directing ongoing voivodship organization work, the council appoints a voivodship executive committee, including a treasurer. The members of the committee do not have to be members of the council or delegates.

Voivodship conventions are held annually. They are empowered to make programmatic decisions, to pass a vote of confidence on voivodship ruling bodies, and can make changes to the membership of these bodies. The rules for convening conventions are formulated by the Supreme Council.

12. The party's highest governing body is the congress, which is convened at least once every 4 years by the national party convention or the Supreme Council. The congress approves programmatic and statutory documents and elects the party's highest ruling bodies.

The congress elects: the chairman of the Supreme Council; the secretary general; the Supreme Council, comprising up to 150 persons; a 15-man National Auditing Commission; and a 15-man National Party Disciplinary Tribunal.

A national convention is held every year. The convention has the right to make decisions pertaining to programmatic and statutory issues, as well as to pass a vote of confidence on the highest ruling bodies, and it can make changes to their composition. Conventions are attended by members of the Supreme Council, party deputies and senators, the chairmen of voivodship councils, and 100 delegates elected by voivodship delegate teams from among their members.

13. The party's highest decision-making authority between congresses is the national convention and the Supreme Council, which:

—elects two deputy chairmen from among its members, one of whom is recommended by the party's parliamentary club and is a member of the club;

—assesses the performance of the Central Executive Committee and has the right to make changes to its membership;
—mandates the holding of party polls and referenda;
—approves the annual party budget and assesses the implementation of the budget.

14. The Supreme Council appoints a Central Executive Committee composed of 14 members, including a treasurer, from among candidates proposed by the secretary general. The members of the committee do not have to be members of the Supreme Council.

The Central Executive Committee coordinates the implementation of resolutions adopted by the congress, the convention, and the Supreme Council. It assumes stances on issues relating to party activity between congresses.

15. Auditing commissions elect a chairman and two deputy chairmen from among their members. They oversee the financial and economic activities of party organs and party economic institutions.

16. Party disciplinary tribunals elect a chairman, two deputy chairmen, and appoint a spokesman for legal affairs.

The National Party Disciplinary Tribunal:

—interprets the party statute;
—examines applications submitted by the Supreme Council, the Central Executive Committee, and the National Auditing Commission concerning actions by members of the party's highest ruling bodies that contravene the statute;
—examines appeals relating to decisions made by voivodship party disciplinary tribunals;
—mediates in internal party affairs.

The National Party Disciplinary Tribunal examines appeals relating to decisions to rescind or refuse party membership as well as decisions concerning removal from party ranks.

Voivodship party disciplinary tribunals operate according to the same principles with the exception of the interpretation of the party statute.

IV. Principles for the Functioning of the Party and Party Elections

17. The internal life of the party is guided by democracy, openness, and solidarity with respect to activity.

18. It is possible to create political and programmatic platforms within the party. Party members producing such platforms may present their concepts at meetings and in the party press, and propose their candidates for all party ruling bodies. The activities of political and programmatic platforms cannot be guided by principles that are incompatible with this statute.

19. Members, local circles, and party organs have the right to establish horizontal links with other party cells and to hold joint meetings and pass resolutions on matters that they consider to be important.

20. Higher level ruling bodies cannot annul resolutions adopted by circles and lower level ruling bodies if they do not contravene decisions made by the congress and convention or the provisions of the statute. Disputes are resolved by the National Party Disciplinary Tribunal.

21. The party cooperates with those who are sympathetic toward and who vote for it in local and national elections, by enabling them to participate in the life of the party, in shaping the program, and in choosing the party's candidates for seats in representative and self-government organs.

22. Members of party circles and organs are to launch various civic initiatives and create social associations.

23. Party members have both the right to vote and to stand for office [czynne i bierne prawo wyborcze]. The election of all party ruling bodies and delegates will be conducted democratically by secret ballot. An unlimited number of candidates will be allowed.

24. Matters concerning party members who contravene the provisions of the statute are examined by the appropriate party disciplinary tribunals. Appeals are examined by the National Party Disciplinary Tribunal.

V. The Party—the Parliamentary Club—Self-Government—Social Organizations

25. The party implements its policies through the activities of its members in representative and self-government organs, trade unions, and social organizations. They represent party policy through these institutions. They create a parliamentary club and party teams.

The congress or the convention formulates the principles according to which the party takes part in elections and the principles according to which candidates are elected.

The Supreme Council confirms the nomination of party candidates for the Sejm and the Senate of the Polish Republic. The appropriate lower level ruling bodies confirm the nomination of party candidates for local bodies and regional self-government bodies.

26. Party members serving in representative and self-government organs as well as on the ruling bodies of social organizations are bound by the general principles of party loyalty, solidarity, and discipline. Issues requiring a common position and a bloc vote are decided on by the councils or executive committees.

VI. The Party Press and Party Publications27. The party press and party publications belong to the entire party and serve the entire party. All trends have the right to express their views on the basis of equal rights.

Every trend and party voivodship ruling bodies may establish their own publications.

28. The editors-in-chief of central party publications and at publishing institutions are appointed by the Supreme Council and those of voivodship publications are appointed by the voivodship council. The editors-in-chief of publications that extend beyond the voivodship are appointed by the Central Executive Committee following an application by the appropriate party ruling bodies.

VII. Party Funds and Assets

29. The sources of party assets and funds are:

—members' dues;
—donations, bequests, endowments;
—donations from legal persons;
—income from party economic institutions, party publications, and the party press.
—events and other irregular sources of income.

30. The level of dues and the principles according to which they will be distributed will be established by the Central Executive Committee.

31. The principles according to which party assets will be managed will be formulated by the Supreme Council.

32. All party cells have the right to engage in economic activity.

33. Party ruling bodies at all level periodically submit reports accounting for party revenue and expenditure.

VII. Final Provisions

34. Party executive organs may employ full time party workers.

35. The party has the right to possess a flag, emblems, and a song.

36. Changes to the statute can be made at the congress or the convention if two-thirds of the delegates present vote in favor of them.

37. Section 2, article 4, does not apply to participants in the founding congress for the duration of the congress.

The Founding Congress
Warsaw, 28 January 1990

Social Democracy Party Elects Leadership

LD1102232390 Warsaw PAP in English 2140 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 10—A meeting of the Chief Council of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland [SDRP] elected Tomasz Nalecz, 40, a historian at the Warsaw University, one of the leaders of the July 8 Movement, Vice-chairman of the party. His candidature was put forward by SDRP leader Aleksander Kwasniewski.

A candidature for the second vice-chairman is to be proposed shortly by members of the SDRP parliamentary group.

The Chief Council appointed Marek Siwiec editor-in-chief of a party daily to be named "TRYBUNA" and issued starting February 12.

The Council elected nine members of the Central Executive Committee. They are: Secretary General of the Wisla-Odra Association Wieslaw Huszcza, 39, institute director at the Social Sciences Academy Professor Tadeusz Iwinski, 45, secretary of the former Commission for Work in Intelligentsia Millieux of the PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Krzysztof Janik, 40, scholar at the Political Sciences Institute of Warsaw University, leading activist of the July 8 Movement Zbigniew Siemiatkowski, 33, Sejm deputy, former first secretary of the factory PUWP committee in Warsaw Steelworks marek Siwiec, 35, Sejm Deputy Slawomir Wiatr, 37, chairman of the Union of State and Social Workers Unions, member of the OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation] Executive Committee Wojciech Wisniewski, 43.

Social Democracy Party Paper Issued

LD1202101290 Warsaw PAP in English 0900 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 12—The first issue of TRYBUNA, a new paper of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP) appeared on Monday replacing the TRYBUNA LUDU (Communist Party paper) and the TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA (the paper issued during the party congress).

In an editorial, the new paper's editor-in-chief Marek Siwiec writes that "we are fed up with demagogy, labelling people, and ignoring facts. We are not going to falsify reality in the name of principles convenient to any elites. Our opening does not mean an occasional declaration but is an essential element of the SDRP philosophy."

Social Democracy Leaders Brief Journalists

LD1202203390 Warsaw PAP in English 1702 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 12—The most significant tasks facing the Socialist Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP) today are to build organizational structures in all-Poland and in particular milieus, to work out a programmatic plan before elections to self-governments, and then before elections to the parliament, and to take a stance on the government's current actions, said

chairman of the SDRP Main Council Aleksander Kwasniewski during a press conference here today.

Aleksander Kwasniewski said the new party was working on the programme of information and propaganda actions. The SDRP has the daily "TRYBUNA" at its disposal. It will soon publish a theoretical monthly and a weekly for rural communities.

General Secretary fo the SDRP Central Executive Committee Leszek Miller said the SDRP activity aroused great interest. So far nearly 5,000 people signed the membership declaration. 30 deputies, former PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party] members, have already joined the SDRP.

Asked about a possibility to hold presidential elections earlier than planned, Aleksander Kwasniewski said Wojciech Jaruzelski's appointment as president was one of the guarantees of the way of reforms and of ensuring security and internal stability.

There should be some continuity, especially in the aspect of the role played in the process of reforms and stability by General Jaruzelski, and in the context of developments taking place outside Poland, particularly the reunification of Germany, stressed he.

Kwasniewski on Congress in W. Berlin

AU1302085790 Warsaw TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA in Polish 10-11 Feb 90 pp 1, 16

[Statement by Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, on the Congress of the Social Democratic Parties Federation held in West Berlin]

[Text] This congress was special for many reasons. It took place at a time when Europe is undergoing transformations of a kind that a short time ago were considered unthinkable. The concept of a common Europe, a common European home, is very close to becoming reality. The barriers have been dismantled and this influenced the openness of the dialogue at the congress.

It was also important that we were talking at a time when the unification of Germany is beginning to happen. Most of the speeches raised the point of how we can best reconcile the theme of German unification—which has already taken place in German mind—with the necessary conditions for security for the whole continent, and above all, for Germany's neighbors, which include Poland. This will be the most difficult European problem in the coming months.

We discussed what the future shape of this Europe ought to be. Everyone agreed that this cannot take place without the participation of the forces of the Left, and without incorporating its values—namely, democracy, social justice, and equality of opportunity. It is a long time since I listened to such positive ways of speaking about socialism. Even Neil Kinnock in his speech said that it is paramount that the future of Europe not be expressed in terms of 19th century capitalism, but should be a future of societies that respect the values of their Left.

We went to this congress as three separate parties. Of course, it is far too early to talk about any dialogue, or institutional contacts. Undoubtedly, the fact that we were able to look at the problems of Polish matters from a European perspective will be conducive to our search for common ground and dialogue. We are not the center of the world. Today, the eyes of the world are turned toward Germany. Poland has to prove to Europe that it is capable of acting, that it is capable of overcoming its economic crisis, and capable of creating a political landscape that is readily understood by other countries—namely, where parties are parties, trade unions are trade unions, and social movements are social movements. Where functions are clearly divisible and rightfully belong to the appropriate people in the political arena.

My talks with W. Brandt, P. Mauroy, G. Spitaels, H.J. Vogel, and G.H. Brundtland, as well as representatives of the social democratic parties of the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, have only strengthened me in my beliefs.

Fiszbach on Social Democratic Federation Congress

AU1302090590 Warsaw TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA in Polish 10-11 Feb 90 p 16

[Statement by Tadeusz Fiszbach, leader of the Social Democratic Union, on the 17th Congress of the Federation of Social Democratic Parties held in West Berlin]

[Text] We met with great interest and warmth at the congress. We had many meetings with most of the main social democratic parties from the West and East, and especially with the SPD. I talked with Willy Brandt, who recalled our past contacts from my Gdansk days and hinted at the possibility of further talks in the not too distant future. I also talked with Hans Jochen Vogel, Bettino Craxi, and the representatives of the European Parliament, as well as others.

Our presence at this congress should be treated as our entry into the circle of social democratic parties. We believe that what we heard and the way we were treated augurs well for the future in the matter of greater cooperation. We have crossed the threshold of rapprochement. We have explained the situation in Poland after the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Congress and it has been understood here. We have agreed to further contacts, exchanges of information, and we informed our interlocutors of our difficulties, especially the technical ones. The reserve the West feels toward the new social democratic parties that have sprung up in Eastern Europe—as outlined by Willy Brandt—stems from insufficient information. Our statements and our

explanations were accepted with a great deal of understanding and were held to be true. We did not come across cases of suspicion, or prejudice in relation to the SDU and the manner in which it was created. In every case we met with a great deal of understanding and admiration. We did not come across any case of mistrust, or doubt as to who we were.

Our participation at this congress and contacts with the other social democratic parties of the West show that the road adopted by the SDU [Social Democratic Union] is the right one; namely, the goal of an economically united Europe, and in the future, a politically united Europe. This is the very road that the Polish Left has to accept it, if it does not want to find itself in a country that is isolated and devoid of support and friends in Europe. This goal has a symbolic character because as we speak these words we gaze at the Berlin Wall, that sad relic of a past which has to be forgotten as soon as possible.

Kiszczak Looks Back on Roundtable Talks

AU0802102390 Warsaw TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA in Polish 6 Feb 90 p 3

[Article by Internal Affairs Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak: "On the Anniversary of the 'Roundtable'"]

[Text] One year ago, in the Palace of the Council of Ministers, I had the honor of opening the "roundtable" talks. For many Poles, that day meant a breakthrough on the road to national accord, to the construction of a new democratic order in our country.

The rapid tempo of political and social life is causing the historic significance and results of the "roundtable" to become hazy in people's memories, so that not everyone appreciates them to a sufficient degree.

Yet in the countries of central East Europe, which are liberating themselves from the bonds of post-Stalinist structures and applying democratic internal solutions, an example that was set by us, the "roundtable," remains a model answer. The societies and political forces of these countries have convinced themselves that it is not at all so easy to achieve such changes.

It is worth recalling that our Polish "roundtable" did not actually start on 6 February 1989, for it was preceded much earlier by talks and discussions of all kinds, meant to overcome prejudice, divisions, reluctance, and mistrust. The church played a major role in this process, and is still doing so.

On 27 August 1988, a qualitatively new situation emerged. Wojciech Jaruzelski suggested holding the "roundtable," and the idea was announced.

On behalf of the authorities, it was my job to turn this suggestion into reality. During the difficult working talks and meetings in Magdalenka and other difficult but constructive talks, the principles of a dialogue of rapprochement between the two sides were worked out, these principles having as their basis a joint desire to cast off the difficult heritage of the past, a burden that set Poles apart. Thus, the extinguished hopes of Poles were rekindled. The seeds of an accord were sown. The 10th Plenum of the Polish United Workers Party provided a new, fundamental stimulus for the development of this accord.

The inauguration of the "roundtable" was the result of a long phase of working contacts, during which I played the part of host. The plenary debates and the work of problem teams presented society, in an unprecedented open and comprehensive manner, the content and magnitude of the problems that had to be solved for the sake of Poland's future. These debates also displayed the determination and firm desire of the people sitting at this symbolic piece of furniture to undertake this task.

However, matters were not so clear at the time, and the future, which of course is clearly visible today, was clouded in fog. One year later, it is easy to say that the "roundtable" was a historic watershed. It led to parliamentary elections which, though based on a political contract, led to a change in the political system and permitted new forces, enjoying wide scale social confidence, to assume responsibility for the development of affairs.

The transformations that ended the era of real socialism in Poland and introduced political pluralism and parliamentary democracy proceeded calmly, in a spirit of political culture displayed by a nation aware of its own history and place in Europe. International society appreciates this and respects it highly. At the same time, the stability of our situation is one of the main conditions for economic cooperation with Poland.

That is why the latest demands to make the process of change more radical are disturbing. There are even calls to bypass, and even violate, the "roundtable" accords. The compromise that was worked out is being described as out of date and an obstacle to the reforms.

I do not subscribe to this way of thinking. Apart from that, I perceive a major danger in it. The left-wing camp I come from knows from its own experience what can happen when one "accelerates" history by force. We are still paying a high price for it.

That is why I am in favor of a consistent, reasonably fast, but balanced process of change. We know only too well that violent haste caused all kinds of emotions and a dangerous tendency to adopt immature and even confrontational solutions.

Social calm and a carefully considered pace of change serves to overcome divisions and, what is more important, guarantees the building of permanent, solid, and safe structures.

One year ago, we sat down at the "roundtable" so that things in Poland might be different, better. We boldly embarked upon this path. We wish to follow it in a spirit of accord and responsibility.

Junior Officers Call for Ministers' Resignations

AU1202222490 Paris AFP in English 2202 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, Feb 12 (AFP)—A group of junior military officers called for the resignations of Romania's defense and interior ministers during a protest here late Monday. The officers made the televised appeal to Romanian leader Ion Iliescu during a demonstration in front of the government headquarters here.

Several dozen officers took part in the protest. The highest-ranking of those who called for the removal of the defense and interior ministers was an Air Force colonel.

Brucan on Natural Dissolution of Communist Party

AU0902121090 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 31 Dec 89 p 1

[Silviu Brucan article: "Without 'Ism' and Without a Party"]

[Text] In order to clarify the ideological confusion and reestablish the adequate relationship between social theory and practice, at least for the time being, we will have to give up such terms as socialism, communism, capitalism, fascism, and others. The way things look now, these terms do not mean anything and, in any event, they do not have anything to do with social reality.

What is the use of talking about socialism, a socialist state, or a socialist republic in a country that has an absolute monarchy-type leadership, which from a historical point of view belongs to feudalism, and in which the national income per inhabitant has been and continues to be three to four times smaller than in West European countries that belong to the capitalist system? Under these conditions, only a cultural illiterate like Nicolae Ceausescu could allow himself to talk about communism as if it were around the corner, just waiting for us to reach out for it! After all, no serious theoretical expert would be able to define the meaning of a communist society in our era, in which the capitalist societies are being computerized, are based on data processing, and have proceeded to a global communication system, leaving behind the East European societies by tens of years. The entire historical scheme of the so-called inevitable succession of social formations elaborated by Marx is obviously outdated beyond return. It is obvious that various types of post-capitalist societies cannot emerge as long as they are still far from the economic, social, and political performances of capitalism.

The more than half of a century of oppressive social thinking and of imposing a rigid theoretical regime in East European countries is now taking its toll. The freedom of thinking has always been and continues to be the most important condition for the development of progressive social movements. The truth is that currently we do not have an update theory, we do not know where we really are, and we know the direction in which this world is heading. Let us just recall the fact that at the 1986 CPSU Congress, it was mentioned that "the nationality issues have successfully been solved in the Soviet Union," and let us remember what followed after that in Armenia, Georgia, in the Baltic countries, and in Soviet Moldavia in order to demonstrate the theoretical confusion that dominates the East. And should we not mention the changes in Poland, where the government is dominated by the "Solidarnosc" and a Catholic prime minister, or about the feverish search of the communists in Hungary, the GDR, and Czechoslovakia to find a new image and a justification for their party, perhaps a new name or a new "ism."

In Romania, the nature of the revolution and the following developments spared us from such searching. The people's revolution against the Ceausescu tyranny gave the National Salvation Front [NSF] an incontestable legitimacy, which does not need any party or any "ism." The Ceausescu dictatorship was so thorough in oppressing any dissident movement or opposition that the people's explosion which overthrew it did not have and could not have a political leadership. As a matter of fact, this leadership was forged in the heat of the revolution and that is how the NSF was born. Thus, the Communist Party was left completely outside the revolutionary process and that is why the first NSF communique did not even mention the existence of this party. The Communist Party was destroyed politically and ideologically by Nicolae Ceausescu, leaving it a passive spectator of the revolution. In other words, the destiny of the Romanian Communist Party has been decided by history itself.

Therefore, the NSF steps into the electoral battle without this political and ideological ballast. In the months to come we will have to learn not only about democracy but also about thinking without dogmas, without prejudices, and without "ism." Only in this way will we be able to build a new theoretical outlook on the world and society, and see the way they look on the threshold of the 21st century.

Brucan Claims London Daily 'Misquoted' Him

AU1202183190

[Editorial Report] Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 2 February carries on pages 1 and 6, under the headline "Brucan Dreams of Brain Power," excerpts from an interview granted by Silviu Brucan, member of the Council of the National Salvation Front, to the London newspaper INDEPENDENT and published on 29 January. The 600-word item quotes Brucan as having said that "in the post-communist society he hopes to build, there will be only two classes—clever people and stupid people; ideally, clever people will be the rulers, and stupid people will happily vote for their masters in exchange for some basic comforts." Brucan is also cited as saying that "everywhere in the world, the intellectuals are marching to power," but that the "slight problem in

Romania," is that there are "between 1.5 and 2 million intellectuals, along with 20 million ordinary folk," who "would not understand." ROMANIA LIBERA concludes the item with an editorial note saying: "We leave it to our readers to judge for themselves this text which, we, Romanians, cannot possibly understand!"

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 3 February carries on page 1 a 400-word "Letter to ROMANIA LIBERA" by Silviu Brucan, claiming that he has been "misquoted" and that his statements were "distorted" by the INDEPENDENT. He adds that he has sent a letter to the London daily expressing his "surprise and disappointment" with the published interview, which "grotesquely distorts" his statements.

'Epilogue' to Brucan's Interview

AU1302114290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1040 GMT 13 Feb 90

["Epilogue to a Controverted Interview"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 13/2/1990—The British newspaper THE INDEPENDENT sent to Bucharest a new correspondent following the dismissal of journalist Victoria Clark and Imre Karacs who signed an interview granted by Mr Silviu Brucan, which aroused much controversy in Bucharest.

After the publication of the interview, Mr Brucan published a letter, also printed by THE INDEPENDENT, which categorically denied he would have suggested a society run by "clever people" who would cultivate a stupid electorate by ensuring them basic comforts. This was "a grotesque distortion" said Mr Brucan in a talk by phone with Mrs Helen Womack, head of THE INDEPENDENT's foreign news coverage.

* Letter to Brucan on Adjusting to Democracy

90EB0233C Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 26 Jan 90 pp 1,2

[Unattributed report: "Open Letter Addressed to Mr Silviu Brucan: Levity or Alibi?"]

[Text] For personal reasons, I hesitated to publicize these thoughts, but in the end I decided to do it because one of your recent statements left me too confused. I am referring to your declaration—about which we were informed by foreign correspondents—that the Romanian people would need about 20 years to learn democracy or get accustomed to it.

I happened to hear before this that Romania allegedly didn't have democratic traditions, which means that discovering democracy is a sort of terra incognita for us, where inevitably we will have to meander for a while. I will not try to hide the fact that every time I heard such enormities I quickly went from amazement to irritation, because one cannot remain endlessly amused by such scandalous prejudice. After all, what do they want, the practitioners of this prejudice? To demonstrate that things are taken too lightly not at the gates of the East, but elsewhere? Anyway, more than once I felt downright insulted by such "theories," although each time I had to admit that I lacked the miraculous power to straighten out the views of people who, although they don't know us, insist on seeing us as some kind of European barbarians from whose traditions democracy is absent. But you know the truth. You are not an ignorant foreigner. Moreover, you have a well established reputation as a political scientist, in contrast to myself, who cannot claim such skills. So, why? Why do you maintain that we need 20 years to get used to democracy?

Your skepticism has thrown me, I must admit, into irritable perplexity. To be quite frank, it seemed to me to be of an unacceptable levity. I hope you understand why I cannot listen with a smile to a statement such as yours. How could one not jump up at hearing such a thing from someone who knows full well what happened in Romania in the past 50 years? In other words, the Romanian people are to be blamed, although they were forced by Vishinsky's fist and those standing behind that fist to give up their traditions? Who rigged the 1946 elections? The Romanian people? Who falsified the ballots and mocked the principles of democracy? The Romanian people? Who threw Maniu and Bratianu in jail? The Romanian people? Who trampled underfoot the democratic traditions and introduced totalitarianism into a country that was dreaming of returning to a free regime? The Romanian people? As you know from your own experience, the Romanian people [as published—line missing in original text] of internationalism without a homeland, and not the absence of democratic traditions is culpable for the historical misfortune under which memories became subversive and hopes were repressed. So how can I explain the levity of your statement which, unintentionally on your part, is becoming offensive, or at least that's how I interpreted it? Of course, political life in pre-war Romania was not without its failings, but what should we detest more, the clear political shortcomings of pre-war Romania, or the nightmare inflicted on the country by the Communist Party? You told foreign correspondents that we are not practiced in democracy. Why did you not tell the journalists you talked to, that in 1923 Romania had one of the most democratic constitutions in Europe? Because you didn't like the looks of democracy in pre-war Romania? It's your right not to like it; just as it is my right to think otherwise. Namely, that the customs that degraded or parodied the principles did not detract from the value of the principles laid down in the 1923 Constitution. And what's more, don't you think that the practices that overshadowed Romanian politics before the war and even risked discrediting them, were a lost paradise compared to the totalitarian inferno with which the Romanian people were forcibly blessed?

I asked myself whether your statement was not meant to serve as an alibi, to justify certain strategies (euphemistically speaking) of the National Salvation Front [NSF]

in which you, or so the rumor goes, were reportedly the ideologist. It seems to me, however, that you venture forth too far and tread on moving sands, instead of admitting that in the meantime, we should proceed from several certitudes: That Romania does have a democratic tradition, from which you may possibly gain inspiration, and that Europe has a thoroughly democratic experience, which is not to be looked down upon, either. Were you to accept that evidence, I think you would spare yourself having to justify a concept that has no chance of appearing logical, namely that of pluralism within the Front. But this is not the place to develop that polemic. First of all because, if I understand it correctly, the NSF, whose only legitimacy is being the temporary caretaker for public affairs until elections, decided to violate that legitimacy, and all I can do about this abuse, is protest. Secondly, I think it is in principle unacceptable that the Front should mortgage Romania's future through long-term theories. If it arrogates a right that belongs only to the Romanian people, then its entire credibility disappears, with all the consequences that can be expected.

I hope I have clarified at least some of the reasons that prompted me to write to you.

* Further Details on Victory Square Events

27000001C Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 14 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Ion Marin article: "The Truth About the Victory Square Meeting—What Was Not Seen on Television"]

[Text] This newspaper's editorial board has received hundreds of telephone calls from readers expressing anxiety regarding what happened in Victory Square, in Bucharest, on 12 January, and asking us, justifiably, for some details. We were there from the first moments of the increasing tension and we would like to inform our readers, in the spirit of truth, that some of the groups which met in front of the headquarters of the National Salvation Front wanted to show their solidarity with the current leadership of the country. Also, they wanted to protest, in a peaceful manner, the fact that, in many enterprises and institutions, in many localities and even counties, the old leadership is still in power, compromised of individuals from the old regime, "distinguished" former communists, with Ceausescu-style, dictatorial habits. This is the principal reason why people do not work and why they do poor work. Even the prime minister expressed this position.

The most eloquent example of this was the presence in the square of a large group of young people from Ploiesti who had the same demands. Many of them went into the Front headquarters, as one could see on television. However, these people, like the great majority of people present in the square, were not troublemakers and did not approve, in any way, the shouts of the obviously manipulated extremists. They disassociated themselves from them, strongly disapproving with the words: "We do not want 'vendettas,'" "We remain men."

The extremist elements which came to the square later, trying to profit from the situation that had been created, were isolated, and finally, annihilated. It is true that, because members of the Front leadership (who were talking to representatives of a recently-created party) were late in appearing before the increasingly agitated crowd, a state of confusion and discontent was created and continued up to the moment that Mr. Iliescu and other members of the Front leadership went down into the middle of the crowd. As was seen on television, dialogue was almost impossible because of the disorder and the noise of the troublemakers. So, for good reason, they chose to have a dialogue with a limited number of representatives. Unfortunately, this decision was not heard by the masses, because of a defective loudspeaker system and while the discussions were being carried on, spirits were agitated to a dangerous extent.

The manner in which the discussions proceeded during the meeting between the Front leaders and the so-called representatives of the people in the square was observed by the entire country on television. Someone said that they were not authentic representatives because the ones who were closest to the door were the ones who got in the headquarters. Fortunately, very few extremists got in and they were kept silent by the decent people who were there.

An explanation regarding Mr Mazilu: He was one of the first ones to go out and talk to the crowd, winning their support in a moment of maximum tension. Later, however, Mr. Mazilu did not answer the question of whether he had been a member of the Securitate and, justifiably, aroused the contempt of the crowd, who turned on him immediately, shouting the names of the other leaders.

Here are two more details regarding the complaints formulated by participants in the meeting. As we said, one of the principal complaints of the people in the square related to the gap which appeared among the profoundly democratic structures created on the country's leadership level, the mass media, and those "islands" of communist totalitarianism which continue to exist in various enterprises and institutions. This complaint is the result of the people's hatred for what the former party signified in Romania, the party which has been made illegal, justifiably, according to the people's will. Mr. Iliescu and Mr. Roman said that the Front will support the people in introducing democracy everywhere, but in conditions of order, discipline, and the continued development of production, because this is the most important thing at the present time. The great majority of the people present there understood this. Added to these were some unclear points in reference to the Front's participation in elections, which were skillfully manipulated by the extremists and individuals with evil interests who infiltrated the crowds and reached the microphone. Let us report, however, from the viewpoint of people who were in the crowd and in the headquarters, that most of those present were of good will and continued to demonstrate their confidence in the Front and in its leaders. The most eloquent proof of this was the

way in which this demonstration ended. For technical reasons, television was not able to cover the demonstration to the end, with pictures and reporting.

Realizing that the crowd could not be calmed (because of extremist elements who continued their agitation and provocations more furiously after the Front leaders went out on the balcony and read three decree-laws [as published]), Mr. Roman proposed that the representatives with whom he spoke go in a procession to the places of the martyrdom of those who gave their lives for the revolution. The great majority of the representatives of the Front went out in the square—near midnight—supported only by the voices of those who accompanied them and who, before the agitated crowd, cried: "The Front is with us! It was a difficult, but decisive psychological moment. Soon, everybody in the square, even those who cried: "You have lied to us!" and "We are not leaving!" incited by the extremists, began to shout from their hearts: "The Front is with us!", "Mr. Iliescu is with us!", "Mr. Roman is with us!" and to sing, in unison, "Romanians, awake!" It should be said that the arrival, in time, of massive groups of workers and students played a decisive role. In this atmosphere of regaining one's own identity and dignity, defending the leaders of the Front with their own bodies, the people marched toward Roman Square, where they fell on their knees before the crosses and wreaths honoring those who were killed during the days of repression. For three minutes, the men collected their thoughts while they recalled the dead from Timisoara, Bucharest, Arad, Sibiu, and Brasov. With their spirits comforted, continuing to cry "The Front is with us!", "Iliescu is with us!", and to sing "Romanians, Awake!", they went to University Square and Revolution Square, where the same ceremony honoring the dead and the same demonstration of confidence in the country's leaders took place.

This was the end of the ceremony which began in Victory Square, washing away the shame and eliminating the danger which hovered for a time over the young democracy of this country, proving, at the same time, that this people and their youth are, in essence, civilized and morally sound. They are patriotic and firm in their will to carry out the ideals for which the martyrs gave their lives in the bloody days of the revolution. Thus, the extremist, revanchist elements are completely isolated, without power and influence.

Unfortunately, the first part of this meeting and, especially, its final part, which we emphasized in our report could not be broadcast on television for technical reasons, justified the anxiety of people who saw only the turbulent, painful part of this demonstration on a day of national mourning. We believe that by presenting this report we are contributing to establishing the truth and to the justified rebirth of our confidence in the healthy forces of the revolution.

* Accusations Against Opposition Parties Denied

90EB0233B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 24 Jan 90 pp 1,3

[Octavian Paler article: "Pandora's Box"]

[Text] I needed time to make sure I was not dreaming. That is why I took so long before daring to confess my amazement at a question I discovered signed by Mr. Dorin Stanciu in the pages of ROMANIA LIBERA. Mr. Stanciu gave us to understand that, behind the Victory Square demonstrators stood certain obscure forces (.. I'm not mistaken, the National Peasant Party was hinted at, but that alleged mystery is not what interests me at this point), after which he tossed a Ciceronian challenge to the leaders of the parties established in the past month: Where had they been the past 43 years? What were they doing? At first, with bated breath, I thought I had misunderstood. What does it mean, where had they been? Was this perhaps a joke? No, it was not a joke. The question was posed with ill-contained indignation. I pondered, stupidly, trying to find an answer to my perplexity, and finally I saw the light. Indeed, how did the new parties dare absent themselves from the country's politics for 43 years? Why did they not take advantage of the freedom decreed by the only party? Why did they remain silent so long? It was clearly the fault of those who served time in prison or took the road of exile that they did not appreciate the totalitarian paradise, it was the fault of those who shook with fear of the Securitate, who jumped every time their doorbell rang at night, who disappeared not to be heard of again, or who led a humiliating life. They just didn't want to take advantage of the unprecedented tolerance of the Communist Party! They rejected the offer to share power! They forced the sole party to remain the only one! And now they dare come out of their silence? With what right? You were absent from the totalitarian banquet, gentlemen, now you think you can simply sit down at the freedom table? Sorry, but you're not innocent. The innocent are to be found among the persecutors! Just as the guilty are among the victims! We owe the nightmare from which we have awakened to those who were hunted down by the Securitate, to those who were afraid, not to those who instituted the fear! Those dead on the Danube-Black Sea Canal, the known and unknown dead from jails filled with political prisoners, Maniu and Bratianu who let themselves be killed—and those who did not forget it—they were responsible for the crimes of the totalitarian regime! It is not the persecutors who must be taken to account, but the persecuted! Where were you? What were you doing during these 43 years? Why didn't we see you in the limelight? Why, instead of sneaking into the nomenklatura, you chose to fill the jails, to be ignored, or to take to the road? And after all, so what if you were deported, imprisoned, and hunted down? What counts is that you were not here. You were absent from all the meetings of the past 43 years, where some talked a lot, some were silent, and all applauded. You stood away from events, gentlemen, and now you

come to interfere in our business? No, first explain to us where you were and what you did.

After the stunning challenge implied in the above mentioned question, nothing can astonish me anymore. Everything is possible. I almost understand what Helvetius meant when he said that in some cases tolerance can be harmful to a nation... Nevertheless, after all the intolerance we suffered in the past few decades, we may be better off not seeing the less positive sides of tolerance. On the contrary, to be healed of the past that is still with us, I think we shall have to admit that democracy presupposes great tolerance. And something else, namely that along with the chains of totalitarian slavery, the revolution also broke Pandora's box. The evil in us broke loose. Moreover, the sudden freedom has put almost all of us in a state of ultimate pressure that is making us impatient, if not intolerant at times. It is as if we came out of a dictatorship only to land in a myriad of dictatorships, because of which I sometimes feel like locking myself up in a cell and becoming a monk. Wherever I turn I run against petty, irritating instances of intolerance, at loggerheads with each other, which I fear can do us enormous harm, because what is important now is to calmly reason what we should do in order not to destroy the gains of the revolution, or identify in time the many dangers lurking ahead. We were the victims of a lengthy totalitarian education, under which not only the flowers given "them" were disinfected, but so were statistics, language, doubts, and modesty, and that daily misfortune, stretched over so many years of our lives, has probably become a reflex with us, a habit. It would seem that the protracted malformation of mentalities left traces that are slow to disappear. A foreigner who did not know us and who judged us superficially could say that a dictator was lying dormant in each victim, waiting for the dawn of freedom to finally manifest itself. However, as long as each one of us locks himself up in his own monologue, refusing to listen to others and refusing to really enter a dialogue, all we can expect is pseudo-democracy.

And speaking of that, someone wrote to me confessing that the obsession of his life was fear: "fear of the Securitate, fear of not being accepted into highschool, and then into the university because of my file, fear of being fired unless I joined the party, fear of not being able to raise my children in a civilized way. And what did I do with my life? I was silent, I told jokes in hidden corners, I listened to Radio Free Europe, and I waited fearfully for things to become even worse. Now we are free, at the cost of our children's lives, to whom our fear seemed absurd. However, after the first moments of euphoria, I am once again afraid." So am I. And I will attempt to explain why, because I cannot talk about anything else before this is out of the way. And no one is responsible for his fears.

* Witness Says Ceausescu Threatened To Resign

27000001A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 14 Jan 90 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed article: "The Moment at Which, Possibly, the Bloodbath Could Have Been Avoided—Supplement to the 17 December 1989 Minutes Which Demonstrates the Criminal Role of the Toadies"— first paragraph is ADEVARUL introduction]

[Text] Our editors received the following report from an eyewitness at the 17 December 1989 session of the former Political Executive Committee. The report contains evidence of special relevance but, for reasons which are easy to understand, the person providing this evidence wants to remain unidentified.

[Eyewitness] I have been listening to the radio, reading the newspapers, looking at television pictures, seeing and hearing things which I never imagined that I would see and hear. It seems like a nightmare. It seems as if I am in the realm of the fantastic; these things took place but they could have been avoided if some people who could have done this had done it.

The article "Clear Order: Fire!" was published in which the text of the minutes of the Political Executive Committee meeting of 17 December 1989 [disclosed] that the dictator and the "samanta" [misspelling of "savant"] coldbloodedly decided to fire on the demonstrators in Timisoara.

The events were presented in the minutes and it makes your hair stand on end to find out that a woman, a mother, could say: "They should be shot, shoot them." "Those who fall should be taken to prison, and they should never be let out of there!"

That is not all, because, if we must speak the truth, let us speak it.

If you have read the minutes, you have seen that there were some objections to the recommendation that the minister of defense, the minister of the interior, and the chief of the Department of State Security be removed from their positions. This surprised the tyrant because it rarely happened that his acolytes were in disagreement with him, and it was only on minor matters. I do not know if he was surprised or if he did not try, once more, to dominate the others. Some time went by, there was a discussion, and when it seemed that there was agreement on everything, he jumped up from his chair like a spring, threw the papers which he had in front of him, and in a characteristic attack of blind rage, said: "Then elect another secretary general!"

There was a moment of silence, of surprise, but the silence was broken immediately because Silviu Curticeanu got up immediately (it seems that everything was arranged ahead of time) and said: "No, Comrade Secretary General, no! Do not leave, I will not be able to leave you, I will always be with you!"

Calmly, rather calmly, the dictator headed toward the door at entrance A—the main entrance—while Silviu Curticeanu ran after him from the opposite end of the hall. Ion Dinca did the same thing, running after the dictator with the same words.

Constantin Dascalescu began to wail: "No, Comrade Ceausescu, it cannot be, it cannot be!" Bobu and Manescu did the same thing. Everyone in the room was standing. Gheorghe Radulescu reflected: "If I did not want this to happen, I would have made a recommendation!" He stood in his place, frozen.

Everything seemed to be staged, in full tragedy, it seemed like a comedy played by some poor actors, without any pride. Women began to cry. In the midst of the sobbing, Ana Muresan and Lina Ciobanu begged the director to stop, saying in the same voice: "We will always be beside you!"

Ceausescu reached the door and they all began to shout louder. It was a din which came through the walls and was heard in the lobby which was filled with Securitate officers.

Only a few people in the hall remained in their places and did not run to the door to beg him on their knees not to leave them.

The brother-in-law, who never could say three words in a meeting, then begged him not to leave, reminding him how brave he was in 1945 when he stood in gunfire in the Palace Square. "You cannot leave, we are staying with you, you have done so much for the country!"

Elena Ceausescu said: "Let Comrade Ceausescu alone, I will try to convince him not to resign" (sic!). A few minutes of silence. They spoke quietly, one could not hear their voices. All the members of the Political Executive Committee were standing.

After the discussion with Elena Ceausescu, Nicolae Ceausescu came and sat down.

Tudor Postelnicu began by asking for forgiveness. He was heard.

Vasile Milea said: "I did not understand that you gave the order to fire, as I said before. In addition, I looked at all the military regulations last night and I did not find any paragraph in which it was stated that the Army of the people should fire at the people."

He was not allowed to continue.

Everything included in this report should have appeared in place of the first asterisk of the minutes, but he told the stenographer not to include these things in the minutes.

On 18 December, Emil Bobu and Silviu Curticeanu asked the stenographer for the minutes of the typed text. In addition, they asked her not to discuss what was said during the session, especially, the part which was not supposed to appear in the minutes.

If the persons present at the session had agreed with the departure of the tyrant, we would not have been witnesses to the massacre which filled the country with grief. But they did not do this. Perhaps they were afraid of the Securitate which filled the front and rear lobbies of the meeting room. Perhaps some of those present might have died in such a situation, but there were few of them and perhaps we would not have such martyrs any more [as published]. It would have been better.

Therefore, I thought that it would be good to entitle this report: "Forgive us, Lord, for Their Death but Do Not Forgive Them!"

* D. Mazilu Letter to ROMANIA LIBERA

90EB0232A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 27 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Letter from Dumitru Mazilu: "We Do Readers a Favor by Publishing a Letter from Mr. Dumitru Mazilu to ROMANIA LIBERA"]

[Text] Letter to the editors received on 26 January 1990 at 1400.

Gentlemen:

In recent days I have been asked many questions about my past activities. Two of these questions have been asked again and again. Did I or did I not work for the Securitate and did I or did I not serve the former regime?

As I also stated to the daily TINERETUL LIBER two days after the events of 12 January, I worked in the Ministry of Internal Affairs in a teaching capacity, as an instructor. I performed no other duties, that is, I was not in operations.

After a period of less than a year, during 1964-1965, when I was assigned responsibility for the Ministry of Internal Affairs School, I was removed from this position and assigned the post of advisor at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in which capacity I headed at the party Central Committee a subcomittee which from 1966 to 1968 analyzed the abuses and illegal acts committed in the past. I compiled a comprehensive survey of these acts which I submitted. I also emphasized, in articles published in Romanian periodicals of the period, the need for promoting legality and justice. I took up these ideas again in books and studies published later.

As to the second question, which has been asked repeatedly, of whether I did nor did not support the former regime, my reply is that I did support this regime, especially from 1964 to 1968, when it was my impression that the changes advocated were in harmony with fundamental human concerns and aspirations. I believed that things were going well. Moreover, even before this period I believed that the changes made after 1944 benefited the country. Consequently, I performed the

tasks assigned to me in practical activities, at the levels at which I worked. In other words, I supported the regime and its activities, in the belief that I was doing the right thing and that these activities served the interests of my country.

In 1971 and 1972, following the assertion of the July theses after visits to China and North Korea by the president and his wife, I began to become aware of the direction in which the country was heading.

During the following period I moved away from the problems of the internal party structures and the political life of the country to concentrate on the foreign sphere, on international problems, where I had the impression that positive things not influenced by the aberrant isolated views of the former regime could still be accomplished.

It is true that in these problems as well I supported some of the leader's theses, such as those relating to the independence of the country and national sovereignty, but as is known I concentrated on technical problems such as those of the "Law of the Sea" with which I concerned myself primarily from 1975 to 1983, after which I took up the problems of human rights, which I felt to be of overwhelming importance in Romania.

The turning point in my life, which led to a complete break with the former regime, came in the winter of 1983-1984, the first winter in which I lived in the cold and when the entire population had to undergo extreme suffering. When the dictator said that we should put on more clothes, I understood that he deeply hated the people and that all of us living in this country meant nothing to him.

I decided that year to do everything in my power to make the world aware of the truth about the serious violations of human rights in my country. I was offered an opportunity to do so in 1985, when I was elected United Nations special reporter for human rights and the young.

The way in which I prepared, forwarded, and presented this report, which I alone wrote, is known to the entire country, the United Nations, and other countries in the world. The report was published in all the major daily newspapers of the world (LE MONDE, LE FIGARO, LA CROIX, THE WASHINGTON POST, THE NEW YORK TIMES, THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, etc.) over the August-September 1989 period. This report was of course banned in Romania, despite the fact that the entire country heard it broadcast by foreign radio stations.

Both the report and the accompanying letter were regarded by the dictatorship, including some persons now accusing me in the newspapers, as being "profoundly hostile toward the socialist system (...) and toward the policy of the party and state." Consequently, I was considered to have "worked for foreign espionage services."

The daily TINERETUL LIBER began publication of the text after the Revolution. Publication of this newspaper was then discontinued, so that the foreign press noted that I had again become unpublishable in my own country. Hence the first document unmasking the ceausescu [lower-case in original] regime, in which the suffering of my people is described, continues to be unknown in Romania.

We took action through the December 1989 Revolution to bring about radical change in views and behavior in Romanian society. Thousands of voices speaking as one then demanded that the only standard to be applied in judging the value of a person must be his competence and moral behavior. This was understood to mean his resolve to serve the cause and to contribute to restoration of fundamental democratic values in this country; to serve with everything good, from the professional and moral viewpoints, which each of us has in him. This was my understanding of things, and for this reason I accepted the responsibilities which I now hold.

People have a past, a present, and a future. Surely we take all these elements into consideration in evaluating them. In evaluating the individual we cannot judge exclusively by his past or present attitudes. But I believe that what should be of fundamental importance to us now is the courage with which we fought against the tyranny during the difficult years, when only too few did so, and their total commitment to restoration of democracy in the present.

The heritage of the past is extremely painful. The sufferings of the people were so great during the 45 years of dictatorship that many of us underwent a true metamorphosis, saying one thing and thinking another, something we all knew to be contrary to honor, sincerity, honesty, and even dignity. I experienced this sad reality for many years, as did many of you, until I could no longer bear it and decided to tell the truth at any cost. A prolonged period in our lifetime robbed us of the joy of being honest and sincere with ourselves; we said one thing under our breath and another thing in public. This to some extent explains why many of us are now less tolerant and less receptive. These persons want a radical, profound change in the area of human relations as well and believe that only if we make this change will we regain the right to look each other straight in the eye and regain confidence in ourselves and our fellow man. We will not succeed, however, if we replace the old formulas with others which only seem to be new and if the old situation is restored despite our slogans.

The December 1989 Revolution delivered to people the right to justice, releasing them from the chains in which the tyranny had bound them.

We hope that this revolution will lead to placing human relations again on the basis of right and justice and that the dark shadows of the past will not fall on our lives again. We also hope that the democratic hopes which

swelled up during that December, in which so much blood was spilled for truth and justice, will not be swept away.

I believe in democracy and hope that it will prevail in my country. I gave proof of this by the program I devised even during the years of suffering. I do not want to make any pronouncements. They would be inadequate and hardly credible. Read the text I prepared in this connection and which was later added to and accepted as our program document.

The accusations made against me are very serious ones; they concern basic aspects of a man's behavior. I hereby declare in all seriousness that I never gave any thought to—it never even entered my mind—to organize any meeting or any similar action opposed to the cause of our revolution.

My conscience is clear. All that I have done has had the sole aim of clearing the atmosphere and calming tensions. It is my fault if I have not succeeded in doing so. I probably did not choose the best way. In addition, I too readily accepted some of the slogans of the crowd precisely because I did not understand some of them at the time and because of tension, did not realize all their implications. However, I did understand immediately afterward that, in our capacity then and now in the Front, we had no right to take any step under the pressure of the moment.

People were saturated with the policy of the former regime. When I say "policy," today people think of what the former regime did for so many years. For a long time people perceived the policy to be an instrument for suppressing thought and applied exclusively against the people. In people's minds, even the idea of party is linked to the stalinist ceausescu [as published] party. When someone says "party," one thinks of the party that was in fact the instrument of a ruling clique which oppressed this people without restriction. Hence this allergy to party became widespread. People no longer even want to hear about a party. Often, however, they say that they do not want to hear about communism because they associate communism with what happened in our country.

But my opinion is that very many members of the former party had nothing to do with the policy of the dictatorial clique. Moreover, I have noted that a substantial number of our dead formally had the status of members of the former party. This is more evidence that the great majority of the members of the former party were against the dictatorship. This is why I think that we must make a distinction. We should hold a firm position toward those who were guilty and allow no guilty person to escape the punishment he deserves, in proportion to his action against the people. At the same time, however, we have the obligation of not punishing the innocent. The fact that some people joined the party is not a reason for considering them to be enemies of the people.

There are times in our lives when we are liked more and others when we are liked less. I am convinced that up to the Piata Victoriei [Victory Square] meeting on 12 January 1990 I was well liked by people and enjoyed strong moral support for my work and struggle.

The events of 12 January changed the attitude of some of the people who were very close to me. I hope that it is a fleeting change. I hope that they will understand my struggle and my suffering, and especially I hope that they will believe me when I say that there is no connection between me and power and that I do not desire power.

I do not want to participate in the elections. I am not a politician. This is proved by my behavior on 12 January, when I was not able to behave as a professional politician probably should have behaved. Other people will come on the scene who will take part in the political struggle and will prove themselves to be more skilled than I in using the methods that characterize this profession.

I do say, however, that it was easier for me to fight during the years of the dictatorship, to reveal the truth, to disclose the great number of injustices which the people of this country suffered. It is precisely belief in the justice of this cause that has given me, my wife, and our child the strength we need to resist, and the solidarity of those around us has given us life and kept us alive.

The campaign launched against me now is unbearable precisely because I feel it to be profoundly unjust. I do not feel myself capable of resorting to the methods used recently against me. I did not believe that they would ever be possible in my country after the December revolution. For many years I served a regime which was not mine, which was not ours. You know that I was not the only one.

When I became convinced that we were being deceived, I rose up resolutely against this regime, assuming the risks of a life-and-death confrontation.

I wanted to die standing tall so that no one in this country would ever have to be on his knees again.

I am certain that others will do better that which I did not succeed in doing. [Signed] Dumitru Mazilu

Received at the Very Last Moment

The following letter addressed to the National Salvation Front Council by Dumitru Mazilu has just been received by the editors.

Noting with great pain and deep bitterness that stalinist methods and practices still persist, that labeling based on Securitate files and accusations accompanied by pounding on the table are still being resorted to, and that the press is still being controlled so that they destroy some and promote others, I hereby tender my resignation from the position, which, as you will recall, I stated on the first day that I did not want.

I am certain that those who carried out the revolution will not allow it to be confiscated by those who gave nothing of their substance to make it succeed.

I side with them wholeheartedly.

I remain dedicated to the ideals of democracy, liberty, and dignity which inspired the young people of the country in the struggle against tyranny.

I will never forget their sacrifice!

Editor's note: Mr. Mazilu is attempting, we hope for the last time, to mislead public opinion with the foregoing letter and his resignation. Consequently, we see ourselves forced to return to this problem in tomorrow's issue, and again we hope it will be for the last time.

* NSF Decision To Run in Elections Criticized

90EB0234B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 26 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Florin-Gabriel Marculescu article: "We Will Not Accept Compromises"]

[Text] In articles published in the past few days in the pages of this newspaper—especially the one entitled "In Favor of Dialogue" in Friday 12 January issue—we presented in detail the reasons for which we believe that the National Salvation Front [NSF] has no right to participate in the elections. Essentially, we said that on 22 December 1989 the NSF Council pledged before hundreds of thousands of revolutionaries to act as a national consensus organization whose only mission was to avert the negative effects of a power vacuum and to take care of the country's major affairs during the transition period.

Noting the faith that prominent NSF Council members continued to put in the human values of communism—totally at odds with the clearly anticommunist character of our revolution—we made it clear that within the framework of genuine political pluralism, nothing can stand in the way of the establishment of a new communist party, from whose platform those who share such convictions can become candidates in the coming elections. At the same time, we allowed ourselves to invite all the NSF Council members to join a frank and open dialogue for the sole benefit of the values of democracy, truth, and social justice.

Unfortunately, our arguments were ignored and the dialogue was accepted in a purely formal spirit. And what was in a way to be expected indeed emerged at the 28 January 1990 session of the NSF Council. Overstepping its mandate and the responsibilities established under the decree-law of 20 December 1989, the NSF Council decided that the Front will run in the elections. Even active cadres of the deposed army participated in the vote! Which means that the NSF Council does not see itself bound even by is own legislative acts. From what one participant in the discussion said, it emerged that the matter of the Front's candidacy in the elections was in fact not even on the agenda of that meeting.

Is there any use in trying to draw a careful and objective analysis of the situation? We think not, since the NSF Council has arrogated all its rights, including that of making politically unpunishable mistakes. Mr. Mazilu is the best example along this line. However many mistakes he may make, he cannot be budged from his seat.

Completely transformed, Mr. I. Iliescu abandoned at the above meeting not only his eternal smile, but also the contagious calm with which he was able so often to communicate his thoughts. With unattractive gestures, not hesitating to raise his voice, and with unpleasantly contorted features, he began to justify the Front's right to run in the elections. Not necessarily as a political party in the historical and outdated sense of the word (?!) but as a "broadly democratic" movement. (It was not, however, stated, in the name of what ideology or under what political color. But this "detail" is not difficult to guess). He did not hesitate to describe the recently established parties as "adversaries" who were attempting to wrest from the Front the honors and merits of the revolution. (However, let us not forget the spontaneous nature of the revolution, which was neither organized nor led by the NSF Council, something that is clearly understood even from the communique issued on 23 December 1989...) Mr. Iliescu also tried to persuade us that the Front is indispensable for the present and future of the country. He talked about *fripturisti* [translation unknown] and about the need to identify an original democracy in line with the specific characteristics of our revolution, etc., etc. A new date was set at the meeting for the elections, but no one thought of consulting the newly established parties. To reassure the public, the Council accepted the participation of UN observers at the elections. Whom do they think they're fooling!

Typically, the Council cited requests by groups of working people. The linguistic patterns of the miserable past were used. One of the speakers even expressed a "firm yes" [as published]. Fortunately, there were some rational voices there, too. We want to express our thanks to Mrs. Doina Cornea who withdrew from the FSN Council in protest even before the meeting, as soon as she learned of the Front's intention to run in the election. The illustrious dissident believes that the decision in question causes flagrant inequality between the NSF, who has all the trappings of power, and the other new or future parties, whose sources of material support are not yet clear. We appreciate the commonsense of our great poet Ana Blandiana, who voted against the recent NSF Council decision, stating that the decision violated a world-wide principle. We equally appreciate the position of the other 12 Council members who voted against the decision or abstained. All of them reflected the views of a nation who should have been consulted before making such a decision.

Shaking the foundations of its own legitimacy and continuing to ignore the anticommunist nature of the revolution, the NSF entered the electoral campaign, and is now soliciting collective support from the trade unions, having forgotten that the latter are not political organizations, but professional associations designed to defend, from independent positions, the socioeconomic interests of workers and employees. This is a clear return to the Leninist thesis about the "transmission belts" between the party (sorry, the Front) and the masses. The other NSF councils, too, which have aimlessly proliferated in institutions and economic units and to which the NSF Council gave practically no responsibilities, will undoubtedly also be manipulated for political purposes. Everything is ready to be put in motion at the service of the Front.

Watching some parsimoniously and selectively televised debates, we nevertheless were able to get an answer to the question whether, under the NSF mask, tortuous paths were not being sought to return to communism. Of course, not to a Ceausescu totalitarianism, but to an enlightened socialism with a human face which, however, by its very ideological nature, can at any time lead to new abuses and political monstrosities. Although that was certainly not his intention, Mr. Iliescu succeeded in reinforcing this conviction.

The NSF Council can only lose from this hasty decision, which will result in a rapid consolidation of the political parties. People who until now may have preferred to remain independent, such as myself and many others, will, under the new conditions, not hesitate to join one of the existing parties, thus strengthening their ranks. A broad anticommunist coalition may also emerge. The time left before the elections is short, but it is sufficient for us to organize. We have no choice. Because of its decisions, the NSF Council has exhausted its credibility and has compelled us to join the opposition.

In memory of the thousands of innocent youths who sacrificed their lives in the days of the revolution we are obligated to avoid returning to power a political system likely to once again generate the horrors of a dictatorship that we have just shed. There are no guarantees in communism. We want the establishment of an authentic democracy, not "original" solutions. And we do not want to wait 20 years to enjoy the gains of a revolution from the bottom upwards, which with stunning force swept away the communist gallows. The anticommunist demonstrations that have intensified in the past few days in the wake of that unwise NSF decision serve only to verify the validity of our views. And these demonstrations will continue, in spite of some fresh and disturbing bans. Freedom is not a present from the NSF. We have won it ourselves through struggle, and we will defend it. We will not accept compromises.

* Information on Democratic Unity Party

90EB0232C Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 27 Jan 90 p 3

[Interview with Nicu Aurel Stancescu, chairman of Democratic Unity Party, by Anton Uncu; place and date not given: "The Democratic Unity Party Presents Itself"]

[Text] Our interviewee today is Mr. Nicu Aurel Stancescu, chairman of the Democratic Unity Party, who wishes to inform the public of the position of the party which he heads.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] First of all, Mr. Stancescu, please give us some information about yourself.
[Stancescu] I am a retired engineer. I joined the Communist Party in 1946 and was expelled in 1951. I joined again in 1965 and was expelled in 1979 because of my activities as a dissident. I have been a member of the National Salvation Front since 15 January 1990 and am chairman of the National Commission for resolution of petitions and complaints of all citizens who were victims of the dictatorship.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] How long has the Democratic Unity Party been in existence?
[Stancescu] Legally since January 1990, but in fact since 1972.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] You have given your support to the program of the FSN [National Salvation Front]?
[Stancescu] And I will support it as long as it does not take on a political coloration, that is, as long as the FSN remains a government structure.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] As you know, the FSN has announced that it will participate in the elections.
[Stancescu] I know. The new elements to appear in the FSN program will determine whether we will or will not continue to take part in the program.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Is it your opinion that the legitimacy of the FSN as a government body is to be explained by national consensus?
[Stancescu] Yes.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Do you believe that the idea of national consensus has been maintained since the time when the FSN announced its participation in elections?
[Stancescu] No. Once it becomes a political formation, the FSN cancels out the idea of national consensus on the basis of which it exists. It consequently becomes illegitimate as a government body.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] As a member of the FSN, did you vote against its participation in elections?
[Stancescu] Yes, my position remains unchanged.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Then you find yourself in a paradoxical situation as a member of the FSN and as chairman of the Democratic Unity Party.

[Stancescu] I have proposed that FSN members participate in elections in various political formations as individuals, but not as a unit and on a common program platform. I do indeed find myself in a paradoxical situation. I have not yet made a decision.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Does comparison of the FSN with formations such as Solidarity in Poland or the Civic Forum in Czechoslovakia seem to you to be appropriate?
[Stancescu] A distinction must be made here. The leaders of these entities actually led the democratic movement in their countries. The FSN was brought forth by the Romanian revolution to lead the nation until elections are held. I repeat that it was and still is a question of national consensus. The FSN should not, and has no right to turn this consensus into electoral capital.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] It was in this spirit that you spoke on Tuesday evening?
[Stancescu] Yes, but Free Romanian Television cut some of the speeches short, allowing more time during the telecast for expression of opinions favoring the FSN. Am I right in calling this lying by omission?

[ROMANIA LIBERA] The director of the television station is an FSN spokesman.
[Stancescu] And just for this reason it was agreed that television would remain impartial.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Is this criticism from within the FSN?
[Stancescu] Why not? It is my moral duty to support the ideals of the revolution, not those of the Front. Even the Front, when it was created, appealed to the nation to support the revolution, not the Front. I answered this call.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Do you believe the FSN councils or committees at industrial plants to be a positive initiative?
[Stancescu] I strongly urge their immediate abolition. An administrative management counterbalanced by a free trade union should remain in industrial plants. Nothing more. The current FSN councils too closely resemble Romanian Communist Party organizations. Sometimes they are even similar in makeup.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] How many active members do you have at this time?
[Stancescu] I do not wish to give figures for the time being. The electoral campaign has its rules.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] How will you differ from the other political formations?
[Stancescu] I am not familiar with all the programs of the political parties. And that is the fault of ROMANIA LIBERA.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] We admit it. We will present these programs within the limits of the space available to us.
[Stancescu] To my knowledge, one of the elements distinguishing us from other parties is that we are against the Communist Party and its ideology, but we do not reject uncompromised former party members, ones who were forced to join the Communist Party for reasons we are all aware of. Many of them are persons you can rely on.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] What is the position of your party on the property question?
[Stancescu] We support privatization as a general concept, but it should come about gradually and in several versions in existence simultaneously—state property, combined (state and private) property, and predominantly private property. In the long term, we advocate privatization.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] What form of government do you advocate?
[Stancescu] A nonsocialist constitutional republic.

* Importance of Mechanization in Agriculture

90EB0218B Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 18 Jan 90 p 2

[Interview with Costica Leu, deputy minister of agriculture and food industry, by Iosif Pop; place and date not given]

[Text] Today we will report on new regulations on cooperation between machinery stations and agricultural producers.

Interview with Mr. Costica Leu, deputy minister of agriculture and food industry:

[ADEVARUL] Mr. Minister, what role will the machinery stations play for the future development of Romanian agriculture?
[Leu] Clearly, the general restructuring of our agriculture will fundamentally change the role and function fulfilled by agricultural machinery stations [AMS] so far within the overall process of agricultural production. We are studying completely new organizational formulas, including one whereby a considerable percentage of AMS' assets will gradually be transferred to agricultural production cooperatives. For the time being, however, the AMS will preserve the existing organizational structure, for the simple reason that we have only two months left before the spring agricultural campaign, and any reorganization attempted at this point would inevitably cause very harmful disruptions. By 20 February we hope to complete repairs on all the tractors and other equipment that will be used in the spring. This is the major issue now, and in the remaining time, we hope to achieve organizational improvements, especially regarding cooperation with agricultural producers, along the lines of defining the precise responsibilities incumbent on everyone who participates in agricultural production.

[ADEVARUL] How, specifically, will this cooperation proceed?
[Leu] Our obligation is to carry out all mechanized agricultural work within the terms and at the quality

level specified by the client, i.e., by agricultural cooperatives' managements and by agricultural producers for their fields. In the case of agricultural production cooperatives, cooperation is based on a contract signed at the beginning of the year for all the operations required for each crop. However, in contrast to previous years, payment for the work performed—which is only in cash—occurs at the time the chief engineer of the agricultural cooperative and the manager of the respective farm accept the work. In the case of crops for which payment is in kind, this will occur at the end of the production cycle.

[ADEVARUL] What happens if at harvest time it turns out that some of the planned production was not achieved because of the poor quality of mechanized work?

[Leu] Under the new cooperation conditions, it was decided that the machinery stations will be completely subordinated to the chief engineer of the respective agricultural cooperative. From now on, all the mechanics, beginning with the head of the machinery station, are bound by the technical and organizational instructions of the chief engineer or farm managers of the agricultural cooperatives. They are obligated to observe to the letter the clear and precise instructions issued by specialists in daily work orders. Once the specialists accept the work, thus verifying observance of their instructions, it means that the mechanics did their duty and should not be penalized for production failures due to factors independent of their activities.

[ADEVARUL] That's as far as cooperative units are concerned; what mechanized operations will be carried out on the lots allocated to various producers and how [will they be carried out]?

[Leu] I repeat, the mechanical equipment of the AMS is sufficient to carry out all the work required in the cooperative sector of agriculture and by small individual producers. Regarding cooperation with the latter, we recommend an organized labor system; namely, certain larger groups of fields should be delineated by understandings among people and sown with a single crop, not only to permit a more productive utilization of machinery, but also to comply with the basic rules of crop rotation established for specific fields. To preempt possible disruption in this wide and complex process of cooperation with small producers, we believe it is better if this year the mechanized work for individual lots continues to be coordinated through agricultural cooperatives, i.e., through their managerial councils. That will give us greater confidence that payments for mechanized work, in cash and in kind, will be made on schedule. However, all these things will be finalized in the coming days in agreement with the people, so as to ensure larger harvests this year throughout the agricultural sector.

*** Cornea Views on Privatization, Monarchy Berated**

27000001B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 20 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Andrei Gutan article: "Some Questions in Regard to the Interview With Doina Cornea"]

[Text] Like most of the citizens of this country I am an assiduous reader of all the new publications which have appeared and which are appearing after the revolution. Therefore, the opinions of such a significant person as Doina Cornea, published in ROMANIA LIBERA of 17 January, could not escape me.

I was struck, in particular, by her response to the question: "What do you see as the urgent issues in our society?" Stressing that she was giving the opinions of a housewife, she began by theorizing on the relationship needed between the superstructure and the infrastructure, which—theoretically—should correspond. In other words, using a terminology which we are used to from lectures on Marxism, it is a matter of the objective necessity of the correspondence between production forces and production relations, with adequate reflection at the level of social, political, and cultural life, etc. Thus, up to now, this is nothing new except for the more general form of expression. Stating that the new forms of the superstructure born in the fire of the revolution do not correspond to the infrastructure—a correct premise—she came to the conclusion that the infrastructure should be changed by decentralizing, a conclusion which is also correct. But what would be the basis of this? The lady was very firm on this matter: privatization! Not a type of privatization. No! Total privatization, from "A" to "Z," without any "half measures." This was immediately followed by the proposal to make unprofitable enterprises profitable by handing them over to foreign firms which would provide modern equipment and technology in exchange for a part of the profits. After five to 10 years, the enterprises would come back to us, completely new.

Some problems, intentionally or unintentionally, remain unsolved. For example, assuming that they are profitable, how do we privatize enterprises like the "23 August" or the "Republica?" Who, with what financial means and under what form, can take over such giants? Does Mrs. Cornea see any solution? If people here do not have any money can we find someone outside the country?

On another matter, let us allow the taking over of unprofitable enterprises. Let us allow that we will find people who will provide absurd unprofitable plants with the necessary equipment and technologies, of the latest type (but will this be the latest type?), after five to 10 years the enterprises will not be new anymore. In the first place, to whom do the enterprises belong if the entire economy is privatized? In the second place, what is left

for us? Nothing but enterprises with outmoded equipment and technologies, since it is known that technologies become old in four to five years and physical wear and tear appears after five to seven years. During this time others have taken a good part of the profits.

What will be the inevitable implications of such a situation in the social and political area? Whose interests will influence these decisions? What might remain in this case? A limited independence? What will we do with it? This is why I think that, in appropriate situations, it is better, although it is more difficult, to resolve the problems of modernization by ourselves, without excluding the assistance of others in other forms. Aren't we capable of such a thing?

Regarding privatization, it is a good idea not to forget that in the industrially developed countries there is a strong sector of state industry. Of course, a wide range of services in the small business sector should be privatized since I believe that small-scale private initiative should be stimulated. But from that point to total privatization is too long a road which, it seems to me, would not be beneficial and would even be [a road] dangerous to travel. It is obvious that we do not have the right to make any more mistakes in making economic decisions or to go from one extreme to the other. We need not only the opinions of politicians and housewives who might be influenced by circumstances. We first need the skilled assistance of top-notch economists, since this is the only way to avoid experiments with unexpected results.

In conclusion, although I do not want to doubt anybody's honesty, I wonder: Are Mrs. Cornea's opinions only the opinions of a housewife?

I admit that sometimes I am slow in understanding. For example, in the answer to the final question, which king was Mrs. Cornea referring to? If she was referring to former King Michael I, the situation was completely different. But, why was there any need for veiled support of the issue raised by the reporter regarding the restoration of the monarchy? Finally, why does she say, with modesty, that her opinion does not count when, in fact, she knows very well that no one would have asked her if it did not count?

Definitely, too much diplomacy for a housewife!

Embassy Official Attacked in Vienna

LD1302025490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2005 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Vienna, Feb 12 (TANJUG)—A Yugoslav Embassy official was attacked and injured during demonstrations staged by Albanian separatists and nationalists in Vienna on Feb 10, the Yugoslav Embassy in Vienna said today.

The embassy requested Vienna police to take measures for the capture of the unidentified attackers of Luka Radovanovic, and said it will lodge a note of protest with the Austrian Foreign Ministry.

The attack shows that the demonstrations were not peaceful. Increased attacks on Yugoslav citizens in Vienna, violent demonstrations and the recent planting of a bomb in the car of a Yugoslav national all point to the terrorist activity of anti-Yugoslav emigrants, which the Austrian authorities must prevent.

Albanians Said To Recruit Anti-Yugoslav Emigres

LD1202133590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1153 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, February 12 (TANJUG)—"The Albanian intelligence service (Sigurimi), the anti-Yugoslav Albanian emigration and nationalists and separatists in the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo are in collusion and they coordinate their activities aimed against Yugoslavia," the Yugoslav Army weekly NARODNA ARMIJA writes in its latest issue.

The weekly sets out that "The Tirana regime's Greater-Albanian ambitions and territorial aspirations to parts of Yugoslavia populated by ethnic Albanians have been a steady basis of its anti-Yugoslav propaganda and intelligence activities."

Sigurimi and its centres in Vienna, Paris, Geneva, New York, Istanbul and other Western cities exert an especially strong influence on Albanians living in those countries through the organization the "Movement for the Albanian Socialist Republic in Yugoslavia (PASRJ)-," the weekly writes and specifies that Sigurimi and its centres are preparing ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, especially the young, even for an armed uprising.

Since 1981 the life in the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo in which the majority of the population are ethnic Albanians has been disrupted by Albanian chauvinst and separatist unrests. In the latest two-week demonstrations staged in late January and early February this year 26 persons died and scores were wounded or injured.

For anti-Yugoslav activities Albania recruits members of the Albanian emigration, as well as ethnic Albanians-Yugoslav citizens. In this way, the weekly writes, in the 1981-1985 period 510 Yugoslav citizens fled to Albania. 410 of them had been returned to Yugoslavia by the Albanian police. In Albania they were recruited and trained for anti-Yugoslav activities by the Albanian intelligence. In the 1981-1985 period 21 Yugoslav citizens and 44 Albanians who had returned from Albania have been exposed as Sigurimi recruits. Some of them had been trained for terrorist actions. In the Yugoslav Armed Forces a number of soldiers have also been exposed who had been trained to kill Army officers.

In activities against Yugoslavia the Albanian intelligence has formed in the West a special secret spy network made up of Albanians in Exile (SEKO) and "ABS" organisation which directly cooperates with Sigurimi. Separatist activities in Kosovo are financed through Sigurimi and Albanian emigres hostile to Yugoslvia. Sigurimi and the emigres collaborate in establishing ties with Islamic fundamentalists, the weekly stresses.

Claim of Sigurimi Activity in SFRY Repeated

AU2201194790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jan 90 p 14

[D.D. report: "Slovene Internal Secretariat on the Article on the Activity of the Albanian Secret Service: 'Rambo Crushes Militia'"]

[Text] Ljubljana [no date as published]—For two days in a row, Ljubljana DNEVNIK has been carrying reactions to Miroslav Lazanski's article published in DANAS in which he claimed that the Albanian secret service, "Sigurimi," has been operating in Zagreb and Ljubljana. Of course, both the Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Slovenia and the DANAS journalist were recently asked for an explanation. Explaining his assertion to Ljubljana colleagues, Lazanski said that "it is completely certain that 'Sigurimi' has been operating in Ljubljana and that that claim does not have to be specially proved. Not only does it operate there, it operates malevolently [gadno]." He advised Slovene organs to intensify control "lest Ljubljana turn to Brussels," where, according to Lazanski again, one of the main foreign centers of the Albanian secret service is located.

The day before yesterday, Ivan Jakic, official spokesman of the Slovene Secretariat for Internal Affairs, termed Lazanski's article a "frame-up which upsets the public and which is not worth wasting words on." Yesterday, however, he moderated his view about Lazanski: "I would be grateful if Lazanski could back up his claims with photographs and exact addresses."

Yesterday's DNEVNIK writes about Lazanski as a "Zagreb Rambo," but adds that he is a good journalist. It also advises its Zagreb colleague to corroborate his claims for the sake of professionalism. If it turns out that he is right, the reputation that the Slovene militia has gained recently will be crushed like porcelain under the wheels of a train, it is said in the DNEVNIK article.

Albanian Consulate Grants Visas to Tourist Group

AU2201130890 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jan 90 p 9

[G.R. report: "Visas for a Weekend in Albania"]

[Text] Titograd, 18 Jan—We were told at the Titograd private tourist agency, Santurs, that today they received from the Albanian Consulate in Belgrade visas for more than 50 tourists. The agency has a package arrangement for these tourists to spend the coming weekend in Albania.

The tourists from Titograd are mainly ethnic Albanians from the Montenegrin border region who have relatives in the neighboring country. They will spend 20 and 21 January in Shkoder, Tirana, and Durres. They will spend the night in the Albanian capital.

Secretariat on Issue of Resuming Ties With Israel

LD0602204190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1906 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 6 (TANJUG)—"The Israeli Government so far has not shown readiness to be more flexible and to facilitate Yugoslavia's positive endeavours to normalize relations but in circumstances and in a way which takes in account Yugoslavia's interests and dignity," it was pointed out in today's reply of the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat to a question posed by delegates of the Federal Assembly.

Concluding that the Yugoslav side mainly undertook the steps to expand the framework of cooperation with Israel, the Foreign Secretariat's reply indicated that the Israeli Government representatives, in their approach to the reestablishment of diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia, presented the issue as if Yugoslav should "put right the wrong decision it took in 1967", invoking the fact that Eastern European countries are acting in this manner.

This approach was unacceptable to Yugoslavia, the Foreign Secretariat assessed, as the motives of the Yugoslav decision in 1967 to break off relations with Israel essentially differ from the decision of the countries of the Warsaw Treaty. The decision to breach diplomatic relations, as recalled in the reply of the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat, was taken because Israel forcefully annexed the occupied Arab territories.

"As the chairing country of the Non-Aligned Movement, we must take care not to radically and unnecessarily break off from other non-aligned countries. Less than 20 non-aligned countries now maintain diplomatic relations with Israel," the Foreign Secretariat's reply set out.

Milosevic Statement to Israeli Paper on Ties

AU1102144790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Feb 90 p 10

[Unattributed report: "Supporting Full Diplomatic Relations With Israel"]

[Text] Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, told the Israeli newspaper MA'ARIV that "it is necessary for Yugoslavia and Israel to establish full diplomatic relations. As far as I am concerned, that may happen tomorrow."

In reply to a question from journalist Toni Lapid [name as published], Milosevic said the following: "No foreign body can tell us who we should have diplomatic relations with."

Replying to a question concerning "the danger of Yugoslavia falling apart," Slobodan Milosevic said the following: "I do not think there is any danger of Yugoslavia falling apart. No Yugoslav people has had such opportunities which now exist within the present Yugoslav borders."

Speaking about the political system in Yugoslavia, Milosevic said the following: "I am in favor of full civil rights, more parties, and free elections. However, I am against a system that would make it possible to found national parties in any of our republics. I am against a system that would lead to the disintegration of Yugoslavia."

POLITIKA Opens Office in Israel

AU1102180190 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Feb 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "POLITIKA Opens Permanent Press Office in Israel"]

[Excerpts] In line with its editorial program and its tradition of direct reporting from all important regions of the world, POLITIKA has decided to extend its reporting network by opening a press office in Israel.

POLITIKA is in this way showing particular respect for Israel's role in current international relations. At the same time, it wants to fill the gap that has arisen in our knowing each other and in mutual cooperation and friendship because of the unjustified break in diplomatic relations. [passage omitted]

POLITIKA has named Borivoje Erdeljan, editor in the foreign politics department and a former permanent correspondent in the Middle East, as its first permanent correspondent in Israel.

Belgrade on Arrest of 2 Yugoslavs in Israel

LD2601120390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1404 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, January 25 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat has asked the Austrian Consular Mission which looks after Yugoslavia's interests in Israel to take the necessary steps in connection with the arrest of two Yugoslav women in Israel on suspicion of espionage for the Palestine Liberation Organization, TANJUG'S diplomatic editor learned at the Secretariat on Thursday.

In its foreign policy, Yugoslavia has always abided by the principle of non-interference in internal affairs of other countries, a secretariat spokesman said. This also relates to Israel, although the two countries have no diplomatic relations.

The two women were arrested by the Israeli police and security (Shinbeth) agents on suspicion of having collected data about civilian and army facilaties in Israel. A special camera, maps and pictures of civilian and army facilities which the two women were allegedly to send to Palestinians in Belgrade were found in their apartment, the police stated yesterday.

Loncar Addresses ICO Session in Jeddah 7 Feb

LD0802100990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1548 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Jeddah, February 7 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar addressed the session of the Organization of the Islamic Conference [ICO] in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, on Wednesday.

Speaking on behalf of the Movement of Nonalignment, Foreign Secretary Loncar, who attended the session as a special guest, said that debate between the blocs, their transformation and the dying way of doctrines and dogmas have repercussions everywhere. Relations marked with intolerance until yesterday, today probably do not yet imply the complete understanding but are doubtless becoming increasingly distinguished for appreciation of varieties—political, ideological, and even religious—for the sake of universal human values are becoming the basis of a new global community of interests. [as received]

With all possible fluctuations, this apparently is a long-term world trend—nobody, not one country, group of states, or ideology—has monopoly on advocating the interests of mankind. Tolerance may become a [word indistinct] word of the world today and of world thought that opens up numerous doors, emphasized Loncar.

Evidently, a world for which different paths to the future should be sought is emerging today, he noted. The movement and policy of nonalignment have their place in this as many of their crucial thirty-year-long aspirations and actions are increasingly converging on the newly awakened world thought and atmosphere in international relations.

As the Movement of Nonalignment, at the time of general ideological divisions based on arms supremacy and the expansion of military-political spheres of influence, strove for disarmament and for the principles of ideological pluralism and peaceful coexistence, it is now initiating, along the same lines of bringing about security and stability, the settlement of many questions outstanding. Here doubtless is the inevitable question of a just, lasting and comprehensive settlement of the decades-long Middle East crisis and implementation of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, recalled Loncar.

The questions of North-South relations, growth and development with all their social, demographic and ecological implications are crucial too, and would have to be put on a worldvide debate without delay. To this end the processes which the Movement of Nonalignment is opening up—and it is doing so with a language of reality, creativeness and appreciation of the interests of all—are compatible with the new way of thinking in the world, noted Loncar.

That is why the forthcoming special session of the UN General Assembly on problems of development and economic cooperation has such significance, he concluded.

Loncar 'Contacts' To Establish Saudi Ties

LD0902000690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1622 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 8 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar, who recently attended a meeting of the Organization of Islamic States in Jeddah, has established contacts with high Saudi Arabian officials and will most probably be able to say more about the setting up of diplomatic relations between the two countries, Yugoslav Government spokesman Ivo Vajgl said at today's regular news conference in Belgrade.

Recalling that Loncar had attended the gathering in the capacity of representative of the country chairing the Non-aligned Movement, Vajgl noted that the meeting had provided an excellent opportunity for a presentation of the preoccupations and activities of Yugoslavia as the Movement's chairman.

Markovic, Iraq's Ramadan Conclude Talks

LD3101194290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1818 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Baghdad, January 31 (TANJUG)—Iraq and Yugoslavia on Wednesday expressed their commitment to mutually beneficial solutions to be found for questions

of current cooperation and its further advancement, Iraqi First Deputy Prime Minister Taha Yasin Ramadan and Yugoslav Secretary for Development and Plan Bozidar Marlendic concluded in their talks in Baghdad. The meeting practically inaugurated a session of the Yugoslav-Iraqi Joint Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation.

Yugoslav workers and engineers have worked on different development projects in Iraq for nearly twenty years. About 11,000 of them are currently engaged in such projects, and payments for their work have been the biggest problem in bilateral relations in recent years, as a result of the eight-year war between Iraq and Iran.

Iraq has for years been Yugoslavia's largest trading partner among the nonaligned countries. Their trade in 1988 totalled 730.5 million dollars, of which 396.1 milion was Yugoslav exports. Trade in the first nine months last year totalled 435.4 million dollars.

Loncar Cables Shevardnadze, Baker

LD0602181190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1639 GMT 6 Feb 90

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 6 (TANJUG)—The entire international community expects a great deal from the upcoming Soviet-U.S. ministerial meeting, especially with regard to the preparations for the forthcoming U.S.-Soviet summit.

This was set out in messages which Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budomir Loncar sent to Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, on the occasion of their upcoming meeting in Moscow.

On the basis of the stands of the Ninth Nonaligned Summit, Loncar underscored the necessity of priority treatment of the most urgent international economic problems, primarily the position of developing countries in the world's economy. This was a precondition for universal and stable peace and prosperity, Loncar set out.

Pancevski Cables New Polish, Bulgarian Officials

LD0602185490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1229 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Feb (TANJUG)—Milan Pancevski, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, has sent messages of congratulations to Aleksander Kwasniewski, the newly-elected chairman of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland, and to Aleksandur Lilov, the new head of the Bulgarian Communist Party, on their election to these posts.

South Korean Embassy Opens in Belgrade

LD0702212990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1426 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Feb (TANJUG)—The Embassy of the Republic of Korea in the SFRY was officially opened in Belgrade today.

Yi Tae-Sik, the first South Korean charge d'affaires ad interim, presented his letter of admission to Deputy Federal Secretary Milivoje Maksic in the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs, and said that an ambassador will be accredited soon.

Milivoje Maksic informed the South Korean diplomat about Yugoslavia's preparations to open a diplomatic mission in Seoul. A Yugoslav diplomat will leave soon for that city.

Diplomatic relations between the two countries were established in December of last year.

Loncar Letter to Council of Europe Chairman

LD0602202190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1654 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 6 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar today sent a letter to Portuguese Foreign Minister Joao Dedeus Pineira, who is also the chairman of the committee of ministers of the Council of Europe.

In his letter, Loncar recalls that Yugoslavia's application for full membership in the Council of Europe was initiated during Loncar's visit to the Council of Europe on November 16 last year.

Loncar's letter also says that the Yugoslav Assembly adopted a declaration of Yugoslavia's further inclusion in European integration processes on January 17 this year. The declaration underlines Yugoslavia's commitment to joining the Council of Europe.

Identical letters were also sent to the Council of Europe secretary-general Mrs. Catherine Lalimiere and president of the Parliamentary Assembly Andere Bjorck.

Markovic Attends World Economic Forum in Davos

Addresses Forum

LD0302210190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1308 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Davos, Feb 3 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's problems are not of the kind that could threaten the country's integrity and basic reform interventions, and, what is going on in Yugoslavia today are the attempts by those who lose something through the changes and hence want to stop them, while, in this context, the nationalists and

separatists are becoming more aggressive—said Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic today in addressing participants in the 20th World Economic Forum in Davos.

Markovic stressed that Yugoslavia was conducting broad-based and profound reforms which lay the foundation to a new system in its development through changing the conditions for overall economic activity, the strengthening of civil rights and through the introducing of political and party pluralism.

Yugoslavia has embarked upon an "unprecedented path of reforms to build up firm and sound foundations of its future development. Subordinated to this are all elements of the programme of economic changes which pave the way for free initiative, the market and competition of the capable and, in politics, give the citizens more freedom (?and rights) and open up prospects for party pluralism and free elections"—said Markovic.

On the latest government monetary policy measures, he noted that Yugoslavia "will have enough resources to maintain the fixed parity of the dinar against the West German mark—fixed at the rate of 7 dinars to one deutsche mark—in a transition period necessary for the Yugoslav economy to pass to the market laws and rational and efficient economic activity."

It has been made possible for foreign capital to invest in Yugoslavia either jointly into mixed firms or directly into its own firms, pointed out Markovic. He recalled that last year alone Yugoslavia concluded 670 contracts of this kind, or double the total for the past thirty years. He also noted that the country's foreign currency reserves—now standing at about 7 billion dollars—were constantly growing and that last year Yugoslavia paid off 3.8 billion dollars of its debt "without outside financial support and with 90-per-cent liberalized goods imports."

Turning to Yugoslavia's constitutional and political reforms, Markovic said they were aimed at creating a new state free from the functions and prerogatives which do not belong to it in a market economy and multi-party system.

He stated that the democratic process in Yugoslavia had started on a large scale with newly-emerging political parties which do not jeopardize the integrity of Yugoslavia and relations among its nations.

Speaking of strained relations between Serbia and Slovenia, Markovic said that the governments of the two republics would meet soon to settle the difficulties which had arisen in free circulation of labour, people, goods and capital on the integral Yugoslav market.

Meets Kohl, Vranitzky

LD0302235290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2244 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Davos, February 3 (TANJUG)—West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, in a talk with Yugoslav Prime Minster Ante Markovic here on Saturday, expressed his government's willingness to extend material support to Yugoslavia's economic reform either bilaterally, or within the European Community frameworks.

In this context Chancellor Kohl stressed the importance which Yugoslavia, with its overall integrity and success in stabilizing the national economy, has for the Federal Republic of Germany and Europe.

Informing the West German chancellor about current political trends in Yugoslavia, Prime Minister Markovic stated its concern for an expansion and strengthening of cooperation with the Federal Republic of Germany and the European Community.

The political situation in Yugoslavia and Kosovo was also the prevalent topic in Prime Minister Markovic's talk with Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, Chancellor Vranitzky emphasized his government's interest in cooperation with Yugoslavia, and not only with some of its parts. Mentioned in this context was the Zagreb-Sentilj highway project and major Austrian capital investments into Yugoslavia's economy, now that the adminstrative and politic [words indistinct] for fear for such investments have ceased to exist.

The Yugoslav prime minster also talked with Swiss Foreign Minister Rene Felber. Markovic noted the successful Yugoslav-Swiss economic cooperation amounting to about 400 millin dollars a year, and said that the Yugoslav reforms had pulled down the barriers which had hampered that cooperation, especially so far as the Swiss investments in Yugoslav firms were concerned.

Foreign Minister Felber said that his government was following with great interest the process of political, social and econmic reforms in Yugoslavia and was willing to give its financial backing to the realization of economic undertakings, because Switzerland does not forget Yugoslavia either in bilateral relations, or within EFTA [European Free Trade Association]. That is why more attention would be paid to an expansion of cooperation among six members of the European Free Trade Association and the institutionalization of relations along these lines, on which the Yugoslav side insists.

Briefs Press on Talks

LD0402170590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1515 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] Davos, Feb 4 (TANJUG)—Everything Yugoslavia has done in the current economic reform has been

without a single dollar of foreign loans. The West has given Yugoslavia only verbal support up to now, and it should now receive financial support, Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic told journalists today. He said that he had expressed this stand at the 20th international economic forum.

Markovic set out the goals and the first results of the Yugoslav reforms at the forum and they were received well. He assessed the meetings and talks in Davos as positive.

Markovic especially mentioned his talks with World Bank President Barber Conable and EFTA [European Free Trade Association] Secretary-General George Reisch.

We have good cooperation with the World Bank. Negotiations are underway for four new loans under very favourable conditions. Two loans for the revitalization of some big Yugoslav firms are to be used this spring, and the other two in the summer, Markovic said. He added that ten percent of the Yugoslav social product should be set aside for paying mistakes of the past and debt servicing.

Pointing out that Yugoslavia enjoyed large foreign-currency reserves, but that they were a reflection of the economy's solvency rather than of its accumulative capacity, the Yugoslav prime minister said that the country counted on receiving in the next few years between 800 million and one billion dollars a year in the form of support credits.

Markovic said that West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who is scheduled to visit Yugoslavia soon, had asked him to draft a memorandum with Yugoslavia's view of where, when and how the Federal Republic of Germany could assist it.

Markovic discussed with Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky his forthcoming visit to Yugoslavia and the preparations for a meeting of the joint Yugoslav-EFTA committee—which was also one of the subjects of his talks with Swiss Foreign Minister Rene Telber, who said that Switzerland "is not forgetting Yugoslavia," i.e., its position in EFTA and cooperation with Switzerland.

Markovic exchanged information on ways of achieving stability of national economies with Mexican President Carlos Salinas. There are many similarities in Yugoslavia's and Mexico's programs and many differences which will be examined on the spot since the two countries agreed to exchange groups of economic experts, Markovic said.

The current political situation in Yugoslavia could not be avoided at the talks and my speech at the 20th international economic forum since all my collocutors asked for it to be explained, Markovic said.

Finance Secretary Informs Assembly of IMF Accord

LD1002092990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1838 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, February 9 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and a mission of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have agreed that an agreement on a new 600-million-dollar stand-by arrangement, for a period of 18 months, be signed next month, as Yugoslav Secretary for Finance Branko Zekan stated in the Assembly of Yugoslavia today.

Zekan set out that the "criteria of the execution" of the stand-by arrangement have been agreed with the IMF. The criteria specify the amount of the National Bank of Yugoslavia assets in the national currency, limit the banking system's foreign-currency assets, limit public spending and the use of foreign credits. The new agreement with the IMF is based on the Yugoslav Government's new programme of reforms translated into a draft memorandum on the economic policy. The memorandum is to be approved by the Assembly of Yugoslavia and the IMF board of directors in March.

Th agreement with the IMF, as Secretary Zekan stated in the Assembly of Yugoslavia today, opens the door to Yugoslavia for negotiations with other international financial institutions, which it hopes will assist the implementation of the economic programme of Premier Ante Markovic's cabinet.

The Yugoslav federal government firmly stands by its economic programme, adopted on December 18 last year, which is based on the convertibility of the national currency, the dinar, on the liberalization of over 80 percent of prices and imports and on a pay freeze, as Federal Secretary of Finance Zekan set out.

Secretary Zekan said that Yugoslavia expects to obtain between 800 million and one billion dollars in annual financial support from the World Bank.

Yugoslavia must regulate the overdue payments with the Paris Club before it seeks the rescheduling of the debt principal for a period of 18 months.

Yugoslavia wishes to defer a total of 1.7 million dollars in principal payments to the governments of the Paris Club and to commercial banks, falling due this year.

Yugoslavia's hard-currency foreign debt now stands at around 16 billion dollars and it was reduced by four billion dollars in the past three and a half years.

Yugoslavia counts on around four billion dollars in foreign aid for its battle for the stabilization of the economy and lowering of the hyper-inflation over the next two years.

Mitrovic Discusses Currency Reserves

LD3101183290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1416 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Jan (TANJUG)—Our country's foreign currency reserves could reach as much as $10 billion by the end of the year—of course, on the condition the exports do not begin to flag and the reform trends are not threatened. This was said by FEC Vice President Aleksandar Mitrovic at the Investbanka today during his meeting with its shareholders.

At the moment the reserves have reached $6,955 billion. The $146 million used to pay a short-term loan has not been included in this sum. Moreover, during the first 29 days in January, Mitrovic stressed, the reserves went up by $1.3 billion. Besides, the interest on the reserves during the past year have not yet been added. It has to be remembered that a considerable sum of money has been placed in foreign banks, where it is gaining interest.

Vlasi Trial Resumes in Titova Mitrovica

LD1202170690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1633 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Summary] Titova Mitrovica, 12 February (TANJUG)—The trial of Azem Vlasi and 14 others accused of threatening social order, resumed today in the Titova Mitrovica district court. The first witnesses were called and thus, finally, after several adjournments, the hearing has begun. The trial continues tomorrow.

Kosovo Historians Protest, Leave SAWP

AU1202194790 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] A somewhat unusual communique reached our editorial desk today. It is a communique from the meeting of the Presidium of the Kosovo Historians' Association, which informs the public and Kosovo and federal state bodies that as of (?10) February, the Kosovo Historians' Association has left the Kosovo Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP].

The reasons given for such a step stress the fact that this association, which deals with various kinds of academic activity, including conferences, research, and discussions, has offered its historical knowledge to the Kosovo SAWP Presidium in order to help solve problems, but has not to date been listened to at all. The Kosovo SAWP, the communique states, has not raised its voice against the renewed colonization of Kosovo, nor against violations of various kinds, disinformation and deception, and the distortion and destruction of history, tradition, culture, and the reputations of outstanding personalities of Albanian national history and culture.

The Kosovo SAWP, the members of this association stress, has not even responded to the efforts of the bureaucracy [words indistinct] which through Kosovo is attempting to carry out the Kosovization of Yugoslavia, declaring the Albanians to be the collective culprits.

Recently adopted laws have led to a general restriction of Kosovo's autonomous role, in particular the Albanian nationality's role in the political, economic, educational, and cultural sphere, which means that in practice we have been thrust into a Stalinist conception of the nationalities issue, in its most debased Brezhnevite form. We oppose these reforms because they are not democratic, progressive, or even humane, while those who live here cannot (?take the first steps) toward attaining the level of civilized Europe.

The association's members state that the Kosovo Historians' Association will in the future cooperate with those political parties whose programs are committed to democracy, freedom, national equality, and human values and dignity.

Emigrants From Kosovo Gather in Novi Beograd

AU1202203990 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Feb 90 p 10

[V. Vujic report: "Time to Start Talking About Kosovo's Future"]

[Excerpt] Several thousand Serbs, Montenegrins, and members of other peoples and nationalities who emigrated from Kosovo (no less than 250,000 have emigrated from the province in the last 50 years), organized a meeting yesterday evening in the Novi Beograd Sports Hall. They discussed the problems of Kosovo, the return of emigrants, and a common life with people who are well-disposed toward a united Serbia. Citizens from all parts of the republic attended the gathering. The highest leaders of Serbia, Kosovo, and Belgrade were invited to the meeting, which was attended by Mihalj Kertes, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia; Zivorad Igic, president of the Kosovo Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Provincial Conference; Milorad Unkovic, president of the Belgrade Assembly; Zoran Todorovic, president of the Belgrade SAWP City Conference, and others. [passage omitted]

Albanian Demonstrators Sentenced in Istok

AU1202203790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Feb 90 p 7

[A.L. report: "Fourteen Demonstrators Sentenced"]

[Text] One thousand five hundred Albanian extremists took part in armed demonstrations in four Istok villages in January and February this year. The public security authorities in Istok have brought misdemeanor charges against 15 of the most aggressive, and 14 demonstrators have been convicted, of whom seven were from Djurakovac, five from Rakos, and one each from Crni Lug and Krnjina. Four demonstrators were sentenced to 60 days' imprisonment, one to 50 days, two to 40 days, and seven to 30 days. Of those sentenced, one was a worker and the

remainder were farm laborers, school pupils, or unemployed. No less than five were from the Tabashi family in Djurakovac.

It is interesting that there was not a single citizen from Trbovac, Starodvoran, or Vrelo among those convicted, although separatists from these very areas were prominent in the demonstrations. For example, firearms were used against members of the security services in the three days of savagery in Starodvoran.

Sentenced in Urosevac

AU1202203390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Feb 90 p 7

[TANJUG report: "Waiting for the Verdict of the Higher Court"]

[Text] Urosevac—The security office here has brought 52 misdemeanor charges before the Communal Magistrate's Court against members of the Albanian nationality over their destructive participation in demonstrations. Of these cases, 21 have been decided, and 16 persons have been sentenced to 60 days' imprisonment, three to 40 days, one to 30 days, and one to 15 days.

Delivering the sentences, the Communal Magistrate's Courts did not accede to the security office's proposal that those convicted should be sent to serve their sentences right away, but is waiting for the verdict of the Higher Magistrate's Court, to which those convicted have the right to appeal.

Kosovo Trade Union Officials Elected

LD1101213990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1645 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Summary] Pristina, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—Today, the Confederation of Trade Unions of Kosovo elected a new Kosovo Trade Union Council. The newly elected members of the Kosovo Trade Union Council elected by secret ballot Sefki Bitici president and Dusan Bisevac secretary of the Kosovo Trade Union Council.

Serbia Endorses Draft Law on Political Parties

LD1202175490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1456 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Feb (TANJUG)—The Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly today endorsed the draft law on political organizations which guarantees the right to free association with the aim of setting up political parties.

Stanko Radmilovic, president of Serbia's Executive Council, described the coming promulgation of the law, under which at least 100 people with the right to vote will be able to set up a political organization, as a watershed in the republic's social and political life and as an event which will refute the insinuations about Serbia supporting political democracy only verbally.

The law, consisting of only 16 articles, is designed to provide for full freedom in the republic's political life within a wide spectrum of ideological inclinations. To this end, the law envisages all the usual restrictions for registering political organizations with relevant judicial organs except the ideological one. The right to legitimate functioning will be withdrawn from those parties whose activities are aimed at violating human freedoms and rights, fomenting national, racial, and religious hatred, and destroying the constitutionally established order by force.

The legislator's decision to make the law applicable on Serbia's entire territory is also significant; in other words, that there will be no special provisions for regulating a multiparty system in Kosovo. That the specific nature of Kosovo's present political juncture was not ignored is testified by an item in Article Six which will deprive those political organizations which have the goal of "rallying citizens with the intention of undermining security and threatening the SFRY's independence and the territorial integrity of both the socialist republic of Serbia and the SFRY" of the opportunity to operate.

By endorsing the draft law on political parties, the republic's Executive Council has, in fact, responded to an initiative set in motion by the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia on 15 January. The draft law will be submitted to the Serbian Assembly with the recommendation that it be adopted in an emergency procedure. A proposal on the law will be formulated in a week's time. The Serbian Assembly will also ask the SFRY Assembly to set in motion an initiative to regulate the issue of political associations uniformly throughout the country.

Serbian Presidency on Public Political Assembly

LD1601201590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1923 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jan (TANJUG)—At a session today, presided over by Slobodan Milosevic, the presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia considered conditions in the republic concerning the fulfilment of citizens' rights to political assembly. In view of the fact that the formation, registering, and functioning of political associations, organizations, and parties is not regulated in either the Socialist Republic of Serbia or in Yugoslavia, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia has noted that the absence of appropriate regulations is hampering the implmentation of citizens' right to set up free organizations. The presidency has therefore decided in the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia to set in motion an initiative to pass a law on the establishment, registering, and functioning of associations and political organisations and parties.

According to a statement issued after the session, the Presidency will send the text of its initiative to the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia with a recommendation that the same initiative be set in motion in the SFRY Assembly, so that the issue is

regulated uniformly throughout the country. At this session the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia passed a number of decisions which fall within its competence.

Serbian Party Presidium Meets, Discusses Reform

LD0801224490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1844 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Jan (TANJUG)—The unity of Yugoslavia and a continued democratization in the country's political life are prerequisites for the successful implementation of economic reform and for pulling out of the crisis. The implementation of the economic reform is a priority task for the Serbian League of Communists. It is therefore of exceptional importance that this year's economic policy, as adopted by the Serbian Socialist Republic Assembly, has the main objective of increaseing production and incomes.

This was stressed at a session today of the Presidium of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee, presided over by Bogdan Trifunovic. The Presidium met to discuss immediate tasks facing the League of Communists in implementing the reform. In this connection, the Presidium decided to convene the first session of the new Central Committee on 12 January.

In a statement, issued after the session, it was said that further efforts are necessary to eliminate weaknesses from the anti-inflationary program adopted recently by the SFRY Assembly. The Serbian League of Communists will direct its efforts to correcting those elements of the program which hamper the implementation of the reform. This refers primarily to the insistence that the burden of pulling out of the crisis should be equally shared and that changes should be made in those regulations which, by imposing a freeze on personal incomes, will destroy any motivation for work.

In reference to the dismissal of some management teams during strikes at the end of last year, the Presidium said that, in view of the fact that responsibility for resolving the crisis rests with work collectives as a whole, the working people must make decisions about their management and important cadre moves without any bureaucratic-administrative interference from outside. At the same time, the quality of professional cadres must be assessed thoroughly, and precedence should be given to young, professional, and creative cadres already in the enterprise.

It was stressed at the session that the League of Communists had no reason to defend the positions of anyone except the workers themselves and their collectives. It was, however, said that in some instances, as a result of an overheated atmosphere, unjustifiable demands were made for the resignation of some capable managers. Without wanting to question the right of collectives to elect their management organs, the Presidium nevertheless suggested that final decisions on this issue should be made on the basis of valid arguments and in the interest of collectives and their necessary work conditions.

Management leaders with good work results, expertise, and ability in their work and who, at the same time, have not violated moral norms should be protected from rash decisions about group responsibility without first establishing individual responsibility. Full truth must, therefore, be accessible to all, including the fact that there are no other sources of income funds but those created by collectives through increased production and sales. Any other way of resolving this problem would place a strain on the funds of other collectives.

At its session today, the Presidium also considered a number of developments from the republic's political life. The fact that Serbia was where the people first appeared on the political scene has helped us to promptly confront brutal reactions by anti-Serbian coalition and other forces who are against democratic processes in both Serbia and Yugoslavia and are against unity in Yugoslavia. We cannot forget that the appearance of the people on the political scene in Serbia was described in some environments and political forums as a street mob, a crowd, a stampede, and the like. The fact that those who promoted these views are now calling themselves the champions of democracy cannot fool the politically aware public of either Serbia or Yugoslavia. In the same way, the politically aware public in Serbia and Yugoslavia cannot be fooled by the alleged champions of democracy who call for a fratricidal war, offer chauvinism and the Chetnik dagger, hatred, and terror, and who outline boundaries for new states and recommend chaos.

It was stressed in this context that in the political life of Serbia there is no room for the fascist ideologies or parties like the chauvinist party initiated in Nova Pazova under the name of the party of Serbian National Revival or some other existing parties and associations outside Serbia. The hatred and chauvinism against Serbia and the Serbian nation in some parts of the country cannot justify such conduct in the political life of Serbia.

The fact that all kinds of forces, even including the reactionary and chauvinistic ones, have appeared on the political scene are not reasons for closing the wide-open door to democracy. We will, however, through the activity of democratic forces, arrive at progressive solutions. This is the best way of ensuring that reactionary behavior remains at the sidelines of social events. In other words, this is a way to prevent reactionary behavior from influencing the course and substance of continuing democratic processes. The Presidium today also discussed a proposed declaration for the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and formulated its stands on the need for improving and revising the document.

The Presidium also considered a proposed resolution for the 14th League of Communists of Yugoslavia congress

on good-neighborly relations and the position of our minorities in neighboring countries as instigated by the last congress of Macedonian League of Communists.

Serbian LC Central Committee Holds Meeting

Slobodan Milosevic Attends

AU1201101690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] The first session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Serbia in its present composition is under way in the Serbian Assembly. The delegates are discussing the tasks of the League of Communists in implementing economic reform. Here is our reporter Zivojin Jerotijevic:

The second session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia is being held in Belgrade under the chairmanship of Bogdan Trifunovic. Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian Presidency, is also taking part in the work of the meeting.

The main point on the agenda is the implementation of the economic reform, which was the subject of the introductory speech that Tomica Rajicevic, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee, gave. As a key issue in the implementation of the economic reform, he highlighted the creation of essential economic systemic conditions for the stabilization of economic trends and particularly for curbing inflation. In this connection he stated: At the moment in Yugoslavia, we have a program which corresponds in many of its elements, particularly in its aims, with our proposals. However, this program also has its defects.

It should immediately be said that for these reasons, as Rajicevic said, we should make all our demands fully public, because, if we support the market and commodity production, then this must apply to everyone in Yugoslavia and not for the larger part of the country, even though it is the larger part. We cannot allow the prices in branches and groupings that are located mainly in Serbia to be generally frozen, and for the prices in branches and groupings which are located mainly in Croatia and Slovenia to be freely set.

We must all pay the price for the way out of the crisis, said Rajicevic. Serbia is not running away from paying its share of the costs, but this must be a proportionate share of the Yugoslav costs in line with its share of the Yugoslav economy. Serbia should not pay a greater price through such badly constructed instruments.

As the crowning argument for these assessments, Rajicevic presented some figures: in Serbia, the share of products whose prices are frozen in the social product amounts to around 23 percent, while in Slovenia this share is around 12, and in Croatia it is around 14 percent.

We need peace and stability for the implementation of the economic reform. Therefore, we will not allow anyone from outside to undermine the harmony that we have in Serbia, least of all through Chetnik, quisling, and similar programs.

There is now an interval during which the members of the Central Committee will apply to speak. We should say that the Central Committee should discuss today the political declaration of the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and make a decision on rationalization and modernization in the League of Communists of Serbia. The proposal for this decision, which in fact means a further reduction in the number of those employed in the Central Committee and its organs, will be explained by Milenko Petrovic, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee.

This is all from the second session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia.

LC Backs Federal Economic Policy

LD1401053690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2020 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade Jan 12 (TANJUG)—Serbia supports the Yugoslav Government's new economic policy but urges a correction of some anti-inflationary measures which have brought its economy into an unequal position, Republican Assembly President Zoran Sokolovic said on Friday.

At the Serbian Communist Party Central Committee session, Sokolovic resolutely denied the theses that Serbia's only goal is to topple Prime Minister Ante Markovic's federal government.

Serbia wants to remove in a democratic way the illogicalities of the anti-inflationary measures due to which certain branches in the republic will pay a greater price than in other parts of the country, Sokolovic said. We will therefore ask that the degree to which the economy of each republic is burdened be precisely determined, he added.

Member of the top Serbian party leadership Tomica Raicevic said that the government program of measures for abruptly bringing down inflation (which last year reached 2,660 percent) largely coincides with Serbia's economic program.

Raicevic explained, however, that the government's decision to freeze prices most severely affects certain branches in this republic. Thus, the participation of products whose prices have been frozen in the social product of Serbia amounts to 23 percent, compared to 12 and 14 percent respectively in Slovenia and Croatia.

Raicevic said that due to permanent controls of the price of electricity, which is extremely important for Serbia's economy, the republic has in the past two years lost more than a billion dollars and will by the middle of this year lose 266 million dollars.

Raicevic also listed the example of copper whose price has been frozen at 1715 dollars per tonne, although its price on the world exchange early this year amounted to 2627 dollars. The situation is similar with the prices of agricultural products, with which Serbia supplies most of Yugoslavia.

Further on Meeting

LD1401160690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1035 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 12 Jan (TANJUG)—Serbia is ready to pay the price for a way out of the Yugoslav crisis proportionate to its share in the Yugoslav economy, but it cannot accept a higher price as a result of wrongly conceived instruments such as price freezes in branches and groupings which are concentrated in Serbia.

This view was stated today at a session of the Serbian League of Communists [LC] Central Committee in the introductory report on the tasks of the LC in the implementation of economic reform by Tomica Raicevic, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium. In addition to economic reform the Serbian LC Central Committee also debated the rationalization and modernization of the Serbian LC and the draft declaration of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress. [passage omitted]

Continuing the session, Milenko Petrovic, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, explained the decision on the rationalization and modernization of the Serbian LC. He said that the Serbian LC is changing its method of conducting policy, is democratizing itself, and must therefore change, reduce, and modernize its entire party apparatus.

Petrovic said that in this area much has already been done, and that the number of paid officials and administrative workers had been significantly reduced. In the period from September 1987 to June 1989, the number of those employed in the organs of the Serbian LC was reduced by 276 or 9.8 percent (from 2,804 to 2,528). The greatest reduction was achieved in the Serbian LC outside the provinces (from 1,640 to 1,427).

The rationalization measures are also to be implemented through a new, modern concept of ideo-political work. Proposals are in the works for the abolition of regional LC schools, the formation of a single school at the level of the Serbian LC, the reexamination of the work of Marxist centers, and the method of financing the LCY political school.

Milenko Petrovic concluded his report by saying that the Serbian LC considers that rationalization actions should be implemented in other socio-political organizations and in the entire administration in Serbia.

The Serbian LC CC in the continuation of the session accepted the amendments to the proposed declaration of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress. "Interventions" in this document were unavoidable, since the declaration, as Serbian LC CC Presidium member Svetozar Krstic said, does not represent a synthesis of Congress documents which were accepted with the broadcast participation of the membership.

The pretentions of this document are much more ambitious than its content and character, and one or two important issues are completely omitted, Krstic said. In the best case, the declaration could be accepted only as a document equal with other congress documents. If accompanied by the removal of some imprecise formulations, it could possibly serve to inform the international public, Krstic said. He added that its title should have been only "The Declaration of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress," while its subheading might have been: "For a new project outline of democratic socialism for Yugoslavia."

Summing up the stances of the Serbian LC on the basis of which the amendments to the declaration have been put together, Krstic recalled the well-known stances of the Serbian LC regarding the character and organization of Yugoslavia as a socialist, democratic federation and a law-governed state, as well as the advocacy for majority decisionmaking in the LCY instead of decisionmaking by concensus. He also stressed in particular the orientation toward full national equality and sovereignty in a multi national community such as Yugoslavia, something which, in his words, also implies the full national equality and sovereignty of the parts of nations living outside their "homeland" republics.

Serbia Adopts Report on Albanian Separatism

LD2001033190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1759 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 19 (TANJUG)—Albanian separatists and chauvinists in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo are engaging in increasingly aggressive actions by organizing demonstrations and subversive-terrorist acts, says a report adopted by the government of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, of which Kosovo is a part.

Ethnic clashes and intolerance in Kosovo have reached a critical point, the report notes.

In the first 11 months of last year, over 1,500 Serbs and Montenegrins left Kosovo in the face of terror by Albanian separatists and chauvinists, bringing the total for the past nine years to 50,000.

The worsening of the situation in the province is also influenced by the divided stands of state and party organs on Kosovo and the increasingly open support to Albanian separatists from Yugoslavia's north-western republics of Slovenia and Croatia, the report says.

Milenkovic Reelected Serbian TU Chief

LD1701020590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2350 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 16 (TANJUG)—"Only through decisive and consistent representation of the workers economic social and political interests will we be able to restore the shaken reputation of the trade union organization and restore the workers' realistic hope for a better and more dignified life", Tomislav Milenkovic, who was reelected president of the trade union of the largest Yugoslav republic, pointed out while closing the trade union congress.

The highest gathering of the republic's workers organization thus ended its two-day work this evening.

The gathering, at which congress documents were also adopted—a report on the work of the Serbian trade union between two congresses, a statute and programme—was attended by 1,100 participants, 445 of whom were delegates and around 150 of them made speeches during the two-day session.

Vojvodina LC PC Presidium Holds Session

LD2401005190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2118 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Novi Sad, 23 Jan (TANJUG)—The current political situation created after the delegates of the League of Communists [LC] of Slovenia had left the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] was discussed today during the enlarged session of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee [PC] of the LC of Vojvodina. The presidents of the municipal, university, and city committee of the LC of Vojvodina as well as presidents of executive-political organs of sociopolitical organizations and organs in the province also took part in producing a statement from the session.

The statement runs as follows:

It was pointed out during the session that the current situation in the country is characterized by deep-seated economic and political crisis and that mutual conflicts continue to divide the leaderships. This was reflected in the work and the discussion at the Congress as well as in the work of its working bodies. It was stressed that in an open and democratic discussion, there had been unacceptable ultimatum-like statements and insistence on the acceptance of individual stands of the 11th Congress of the LC of Slovenia. These statements and this insistence did not contribute to the establishment of a constructive atmosphere and had a negative impact on the mood among the LC membership and on the public at large, who followed the work of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress.

It was also stressed during the session that the 11th Congress of the LC of Slovenia, the last in a series of congresses and conferences in the republican and provincial organizations, among other things, adopted stands. That is to say, they adopted demands that had not been a topic of discussion within the framework of the public deliberations on the documents of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress. The demand that the LCY should no longer be a single organization, the acceptance of which would signal an essential change in the character and method of work of the LCY, without previous public discussion among party membership at its widest and in all parts of the LCY, could not have been accepted, and this was clearly demonstrated during the congress itself.

The participants in the session noted that the working bodies of the congress, which are composed of delegates from all sections of the LCY, held a democratic discussion during the submission of many proposals and amendments. The delegates coordinated totally for the adoption of the presented documents. The report by the president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee was approved in full compliance with democratic procedure, and a great number of amendments submitted by the delegates with reference to the substance of the congress declaration were discussed and accepted. The view was expressed during this session that these are significant documents whose substance opens up the road of democratic reform and substantial changes in our economic and political system, and that they can serve as a good basis for the drafting of the new LCY Program and Statute.

In view of all this, it is apparent that when the delegates from the Slovene LC walked out of the Congress, at a time when a huge majority of the Congress delegates favored LCY unity, it was a drastic departure from efforts to lead a democratic and constructive dialogue by means of argument within the LCY. It was pointed out that the LCY cannot accept relations and a work method, which through giving ultimatums and a policy of fait accompli, discredit and negate the overall activity on preparing the Congress. Nor can the LCY accept relations and a work method which do not take into account results of public debates on congress documents among the widest LCY membership. The acceptance of the demands which the delegates from the Slovene LC had made that the LCY should become a "league of leagues" and that the principle of consensus should be introduced in decisionmaking would mean a disintegration of the LCY as a united organization. The orientation of the majority of Communists is for a democratic, reformed, and united LCY, which was shown at the congress itself.

Participants in the discussion pointed out that the situation that had arisen represented yet additional proof that relations in the LCY could be based only on democratic foundations; that they should be developed with much more understanding for different views and stands, which in this specific case had not been considered by the delegates from the Slovene LC.

At the extended session of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Conference Presidium, the participants expressed a resolute stand that because of the decision by the delegates from the Slovene LC to leave the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress, the adoption of the remaining Congress documents and the election of members for the LCY organs should not be threateded. Together with a view expressing support for the LCY unity, the participants at the session pointed out that Communists should use resolute action to oppose attempts to disturb intranational relations, as well as attempts by antireform and antisocialist forces to make use of the situation for their own aims. It was stressed that this presupposes an active attitude and increased activity of Communists, organizations, and organs of the LC on implementing the stands of the 13th Extraordinary Conference of the Vojvodina LC and the 11th Congress of the Serbian LC and on carrying out other activities which strengthen the unity of the LCY and ensure the preservation of the integrity of the SFRY. It was pointed out that the LCY should remain open to all Communists of Yugoslav orientation who accept a democratic, united, and modern LCY, and a democratic socialist, and federal Yugoslavia.

At the session, it was concluded that the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, together with the delegates of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress from the Vojvodina LC, should make a comprehensive assessments of the course of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress and establish directions of activity that would contribute to its continuation and a completion of its work as quickly as possible, as well as to a preservation of the unity of the LCY, a statement by the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee says.

Pancevski Chairs 7 Feb LCY Presidium Session

LD0802131490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1624 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Feb (TANJUG)—Today's League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee [LCY CC] Presidium session, chaired by Milan Pancevski, president of the LCY CC Presidium, examined topical issues concerning preparations for the next LCY CC session and the continuation of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress.

The statement from this session reads: Proceeding from the orientations established at a number of consultative meetings, particularly at the meeting between the president of the LCY CC Presidium and the presidents of the League of Communists [LC] central and provincial committees and the president of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, held in preparation for this session, the LCY CC Presidium defined a number of fundamental joint ideopolitical points of departure in the process of establishing proposals on the methods of solving open questions which dominated at the congress and after its suspension. Though representatives of the Croat LC did not take part in this session, the Presidium noted—taking into account the stands they expressed in the preparation of the session—a high degree of consent and the orientation toward necessary radical changes in the program and statutory stands of the LCY, in order that the LC be trained to act more efficiently and be more suitable to present conditions. The Presidium drew attention to the necessity of making new efforts toward the further democratization and radical reform of the LCY in order to preserve the LC's Yugoslav character and to revitalize its progressive role.

It is a general orientation—expressed at the session of the Presidium—that the current social situation and prospects for the development of our socialist community necessarily demand of the LC that it develop into a modern, democratic and united political party, which will gather together socialist-oriented people through its program, based on jointly defined historic interests of all our nations and nationalities, working people, and citizens.

The Presidium noted that the newly-arisen situation is causing great damage to the LCY's position as a whole and to all its parts, gathering the antisocialist opposition and exacerbating interethnic relations, and that it should be overcome in a more determined way.

The LCY CC Presidium was briefed on the conclusions of the first conference of the Slovene LC—the Party of Democratic Renewal, which in fact meant the creation of an independent political organization. The Presidium noted that the further activity of the LCY organs and the continuation of the congress could not be called into question. The LCY organs are legitimate. The decisions of forums or organs cannot refute individual LCY membership, that is, the citizens' orientation to be LCY members.

In order to prepare proposals for the continuation of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress, the Presidium decided to convene the 31st LCY CC session before the end of February. The LCY CC Presidium calls on all LCY members, especially LC organs and congress delegates, to give maximum contribution to necessary preparations for the successful continuation of the congress, its adoption of vital statutory and program decisions, and the election of new LCY organs.

The Presidium stresses in particular that everything should be done to prevent further splits in the LCY and within some of its parts, and that to this aim it is necessary to overcome conflicts, public labelling and disqualifications and disagreements, and develop new democratic unity in the LCY.

The LCY CC Presidium reached jointly acceptable starting points which will shortly—through broad and constructive activity of all the LCY's parts—be made concrete and submitted for adoption to the LCY CC. All this should contribute to democratic agreement-seeking and successful continuation of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress.

The manifested degree of responsibility for the current situation in society and the fate of its own organization, as well as a need for mutual dialogue and understanding, were expressed at this Presidium session. For this reason it is particularly important to continue and successfully complete the planned activities in a patient, tolerant, and democratic dialogue.

The Presidium also examined a number of other matters concerning the continuation of the congress.

LCY Executive Secretaries Leave Posts

AU1201151390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6-7 Jan 90 p 12

[D.B. report: "Executive Secretaries 'Disappear'"]

[Text] The Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] has been left without its executive secretaries. The executive secretaries' "disappearance" is in conformity with the decision of the LCY Central Committee that executive secretaries should no longer be elected.

The following former executive secretaries have been elected to the LCY Central Committee Presidium: Marko Lolic (Croatia), Boris Muzevic (Slovenia), Ugljesa Uzelac (Bosnia-Hercegovina), and Ljubomir Varoslija (Macedonia). Slobodan Filipovic (Montenegro) has resigned as executive secretary, but has remained a member of the LCY Central Committee. At the beginning of November, Stanislav Stojanovic left the post of executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium to become the ambassador to Hungary, but he has remained a member of the LCY Central Committee.

Democratic Party Announces Establishment

LD1412120589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1536 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—The founding committee of the Democratic Party announced at a news conference today the birth of the Democratic Party, which legally and politically does not present a continuation of a former Democratic Party of Ljubo Davidovic, only an heir to its rich democratic traditions.

The list of the program principles of the future Democratic Party refers to "the abolition of the power monopoly of one political party, as well as any form of a party state," and the party will support federal order in Yugoslavia, a market economy, freedom of association to political parties, complete freedom of the press, the absence of official or implicit censorship, and the ensuring of appropriate protection of ownership, regardless of whether this refers to private, state, public, or cooperative ownership.

We are forming this party—the founding committee consists of 13 intellectuals—independently from real prospects for the party's immediate success, Dr Kosta Cavoski said. He added that the founding committee was strongly convinced that this enterprise would contribute to the quickest establishment of a democratic multiparty system with an opposition. The founding committee figured, as it is said in the proclamation, that this is "the best way to establish a responsible and replaceable government, and to ensure the rights and freedoms of citizens, and that the entire state and for the political order to really become based on the principle of national sovereignty."

The new party is envisaged as a purely political one, and therefore it does not link itself to national values, despite the fact that it "will try not to fail European traditions of freedom and democracy, under the sign of which the modern Serbian state was created at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century." In the proclamation, it is recalled that "these ideals were last openly represented by the Democratic Party, the activity of which was quickly stopped in 1945."

The founders of the party say that anybody can join the Democratic Party, regardless of their nationality and place of residence, but on condition that they are not members of any other faction or party. The members of the party at its founding "wish to fight for the realization of its program of spreading democratic ideas, under the same conditions and in regular legal competition with other political parties, associations, and fedrations, through winning over voters, through participation in elections, and, in case of a success in elections, also through participation in the work of reprsentative bodies and in carrying out state authority," the founding committee says in its public proclamation. Members of the founding committee are expected to request the official registration of the new party very soon.

Democratic Freedom Party Founded in Belgrade

LD1501041190 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 2100 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] The founding meeting of the Democratic Freedom Party was held in Belgrade today. This is the first political organization outide the so-called sociopolitical organizations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia. The party has an expressly Yugoslav orientation. The party advocates prosperity, freedom, and democracy. It also supports as political objectives a federal state and membership in the 1992 European Community. The party will work for the abolition of both Serb provinces and also will demand the restoration of the property of Serbs expelled from Kosovo since 6 April 1941. It also will demand the return of all emigres from Albania to their mother country. The party will require Albanian separatists to be treated as members of the Albanian Army and returned to that neighboring country. The party is against autonomy also, as far as the demand for an autonomous status of Serbs in Croatia is concerned. In the eventuality of Yugoslavia being organized in a different way—for instance, if the country were to be a

confederation—the party is advocating nonrecognition of internal borders in the country as laid down after 1945.

During the founding meeting, considerable criticism was levelled against Vuk Draskovic and his plan to set up the nationalistic Serb National Renewal Party. This new party in Serbia bears testimony to the variety of the routes of Yugoslav political pluralism.

People's Radical Party Reestablished in Belgrade

LD1901033590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1915 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 19 (TANJUG)—The People's Radical Party—which was founded in 1881 and stopped acting in 1945, although it was never officially banned—was renewed in Belgrade today.

The Radical Party was the ruling party or a member of the ruling coalition both in the Kingdom of Serbia and in Yugoslavia between the two world wars.

The Radical Party urges free elections in Yugoslavia already this year, with the participation of representatives of all parties.

The party does not recognize the elections held last year, in which it did not participate, it was explained today.

Five Alliances Join Slovene Opposition

AU1101120990 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 4 Jan 90 p 2

[Marko Pecauer report: "Demos-United Opposition Now Has Five Members"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 3 Jan—Demos, Democratic Opposition of Slovenia [Demos, Demokraticna Opozicija Slovenije], which was formed by the Slovene Democratic Alliance, the Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia, and Slovene Christian Democrats at the end of last year, has turned after the New Year into a new form of party alliance, which is called Demos-United Opposition [Demos-Zdruzena Opozicija]. In addition to the said three parties, the coalition was joined by the Slovene Peasant Alliance and the Greens of Slovenia.

As it is said in the statement that was issued yesterday, the new form of party alliance was imposed by the unequal position of the old and the new alliances. The aim of the links among the opposition and alternative groups is to make them stronger and to allow them to appear more effectively in the political contest this spring. Because the political alliance now numbers five members on an equal footing, the opportunities for a successful appearance at elections have essentially increased.

The five parties (the Slovene Democratic Alliance, the Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia, the Slovene Christian Democrats, the Slovene Peasant Alliance, and the Greens of Slovenia) will from now on appear as Demos-United Opposition, while each of them will retain its program and organizational peculiarities. These peculiarities will be demonstrated by all the parties, as they will propose their independent lists for the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Slovene Assembly. For all the other posts in the communes, the republic, and the federation, the members of Demos-United Opposition will put up joint candidates.

Demos-United Opposition is a coordination body of the opposition alliances led by a presidium, composed of two members from each of the said alliances. The president of the presidium is ex-officio president of the election staff of Demos-United Opposition. The presidium is a collective organ which works on the principle of consensus, and it is operatively led by the president (Dr. Joze Pucnik), the statement by Demos-United Opposition says.

There is thus a considerable change in the organization of the Slovene opposition, because before the new year, the Slovene Peasant Alliance and the Greens only supported the program of Demos (which at the time contained only three parties) or rather were associate members.

Dimitrij Rupel said in this connection that the three parties (the Slovene Democratic Alliance, the Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia, and the Slovene Christian Democrats) initially intended to appear jointly in all the election lists. Later on, when the election law was definitely passed, it appeared that it would be more favorable for them if each organization would run separately in the elections for the Sociopolitical Chamber of the republican assembly, because the election system is proportional. An independent stand was also the condition set by the Slovene Peasant Alliance and the Greens. Thus a clear political map will be drawn on the republican level, to show how much support any individual organization enjoys among voters.

Something of that kind is impossible at the communal level, because some organizations are not so developed that they could independently run in the communes. Therefore they have joined together to help each other and to coordinate their work in the organizational network that has arisen before the elections. They will of course cooperate after the elections, too.

Slovene Socialist Alliance Declared New Party

LD0901220490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] The Socialist Alliance of Slovenia today held a program conference at which a report on the work, statute, and program was accepted. As of tonight, this sociopolitical organization is a political party which will participate in coming parliamentary elections in this republic and will operate from a position left of the center. Here is a detailed report from Ljubljana by our correspondent Dragoslav Kosaric:

[Begin Kosaric recording] The Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Slovenia is a political party as of tonight. It will call itself the Socialist Allinance of Slovenia until a new statute is adopoted. Once the statute is adopted, the party will probably assume the name of the Alliance of Socialists of Slovenia. The statute will be adopted in March, and the first congress of this new party, which will announce its independent candidates at coming parliamentary elections, will be held in November this year.

The Socialist Alliance has retained some of the features of the old front organization, such as: the membership is open to scouts' organizations, mountain-climbing societies, physical culture institutes, etc. Delegates also accepted the statute, program, and a report on the work, which was presented by President Joze Smole. He stressed that the Socialist Alliance will fight for as strong an independence for Slovenia as possible within Yugoslavia. Support was given to the proposal that the constitution of neither Slovenia nor Yugoslavia should any more contain all those elements which could be interpreted as ideological principles.

With two votes against, the republican conference rejected criticism by Joze Skoljc, president of the Slovene youth federation party. He had said that the Socialist Alliance could not participate in coming elections, because under the constitution the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia was responsible for ensuring the equal treatment for all parties and candidates in coming elections. Skoljc announced that he would complain to the electoral commission and said that he would ask the constitutional court of Slovenia for its opinion.

The republican conference denounced the Presidium of the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People for the boycott and will submit to the Slovene Assembly a proposal to end assistance to insufficiently developed regions. [end recording]

Kosovo Democratic Alliance Forms Branches

AU2301214490 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 19 Jan 90 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Initiating Councils of Branches of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance Formed"]

[Text] Initiating councils of branches of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance were founded in Obilic, Urosevac, and Srbica yesterday. In Obilic Commune, 1,200 members joined, with 1,330 joining in Urosevac, and 770 in Srbica.

Similar councils have recently been formed in Kosovo Polje, Titova Mitrovica, and Djakovica.

Croat Democratic Alliance Meets in Sibenik

LD1401214790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0913 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Sibenik, 14 Jan (TANJUG)—During the founding meeting of its branch in Sibenik last night, and under the slogan "Freedom, democracy, and peace," the leadership of the Croat Democratic Alliance launched a vehement attack on everything that is socialist, Yugoslav, and communist. The responsibility for the present situation was placed on our system. [passage omitted]

Ivan Gabelica, vice president of the Croat Democratic Alliance, stressed that Croat flags will fly on our ships, assuming that the SFRY still exists. Gabelica also said that the delegates in the Croat Assembly had not been elected in a democratic manner, and that the Croat Assembly was not empowered to decide about changes to the new federal constitution.

Speaking from the platform in Sibenik, Dr Vladimir Veselica, Croat Democratic Alliance president, said that it was impossible to pursue a so-called greater-Croat policy in Croatia that ignored realities. "However, we believe that a Croat policy can and must be pursued in Croatia and that no one in Croatia has the mandate to sacrifice Croat interests for the sake of the so-called higher interests."

Those who took part in the discussion made the assessment that a witch-hunt had been pursued so far against the "alternative". However, no sooner had the founding meeting of the Sibenik Croat Democratic Alliance branch ended when an announcement was made from the platform of the National Theater in Sibenik about another founding meeting, on 20 January, of the Sibenik branch of the Croat Social-Liberal Party [Hrvatska Socijal-Liberalna Stranka]. The announcement was made by Goran Stipanicev, chairman of the Initiative Committee of the Croat Social-Liberal Party.

Montenegro Parties Establish 'Democratic Forum'

AU1501155390 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] The representatives of all nine democratic and political parties of Montenegro that are joined together in a Democratic Forum today adopted a joint declaration. By a show of hands, they elected Ljubisa Stankovic chairman. Here is a report from Titograd by Jagos Stojanovic:

This democratic coalition of the already established organizations, such as the League of Communists, the Trade Unions, the Socialist Alliance, and the Youth Organization, and the newly founded parties, such as the Democratic Alternative, the Democratic Party, the Liberal Alliance of Montenegro, the Association for Advancing Democratic Rights, and the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, was formed in Titograd on the 1st anniversary of the events that took place on 10 January of last year. The leadership of the forum consists

of three members of each organization. Explaining the joint declaration, Chairman Ljubisa Stankovic said, among other things:

[Begin Stankovic recording] Considering that the center of democratic institutions is the Assembly, consisting of the representatives of the citizens and their political associations elected in free elections, the aim of the Democratic Forum is to influence, through the joint efforts of all of its members, the adoption of the law on free political association, the law on free elections for the constituent assembly, and all other laws necessary for the democratic organization of society. [end recording]

Every new political association in Montenegro can become a member of the Democratic Forum, even before the adoption of appropriate laws. The Democratic Forum is mainly accountable to the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro, Ljubisa Stankovic stressed, among other things.

Democratic Party Presents Platform

LD0901191890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1509 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Novi Sad, 9 Jan (TANJUG)—The Democratic Party with the base [words indistinct] presented its platform last night at the faculty of philosophy in Novi Sad. The platform called for the abolishment of one party's monopoly of power and any form of party state; for freedom of the press; for an autonomous judiciary; and for constitutionally guaranteed equality of all nations and rights of minorities.

Citizens of Novi Sad were acquainted with the platform in line with which the Democratic Party will advocate a modern market; the protection of ownership irrespective of its character, although agreeing that private ownership is the basis of entrepreneurship; a multiparty system; and parliamentary democracy with democratic opposition and the possibility of replacing a government.

Explaining that the name of the Democratic Party contains no national or supranational attribute, Dr Kosta Cavoski stressed that this was done out of respect for the traditions of the Serbian people, since no party in Serbia had national attributes. This, he added, was not the case in some of our republics during Austro- Hungarian rule.

Stressing that in 1945 (?the Democratic Party) of Milan Grol was the only one to criticize the totalitarian tendencies in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, it decided not to go to the post-war elections since it doubted the extent to which they were free. Dr Cavoski said that this new Democratic Party, if it was founded earlier, would do the same this autumn in Serbia. It would, Cavoski added, call on citizens to boycott the elections due to a series of objections to early elections. According to Cavoski, not even the forthcoming elections for the SFRY Assembly will be democratic, since the Socialist Alliance will organize them exclusively.

Two Macedonian Parties Established

LD2001222190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1215 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Summary] Skopje, 20 Jan (TANJUG)—The League for Democracy appeared on the scene in Skopje the day before yesterday as the first alternative party in the republic. Today, another Macedonian party, the Movement for All-Macedonian Action or MAAK, will emerge. It will publish its program on 4 February, Goce Delcev's birth anniverary. The League for Democracy has already prepared a draft program, statute, and other program documents which will be offered for public discussion. MAAK has still to do that. Both MAAK and the League of Democracy, which already has 200 members, intend to vie with the League of Communists and other possible competitors by actively taking part in the elections.